

ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME III

JULY 1921

NUMBER 3



SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI

PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS

Issued Quarterly

Annual Subscription \$2.00

Single Numbers 50 Cents

Entered as Second Class Matter November 20, 1918 at the Post Office at St. Louis, Missouri,
under the Act of August 24, 1912

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc. required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912,

OF ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, published Quarterly
at St. Louis, Missouri, for April 1, 1921.

State of Missouri }
City of St. Louis } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and city aforesaid, personally appeared Edward Brown, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, 209 Walnut St., St. Louis, Mo.

Editor-in-Chief } Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C.M., D.D.,

Managing Editor } Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.

Business Manager: Edward Brown, 511 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS — an Association organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving materials of all kind relating to the Catholic history of the diocese St. Louis and disseminating such information; neither the Association nor any of its members have any pecuniary interest in said publication.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state).

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain the statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is — — — (This information is required from daily publications only.)

(Signed) EDWARD BROWN, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March 1921.

(Signed) H. M. CLAPP, Notary Public

(My commission expires Jan. 21, 1922)

ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Issued Quarterly

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. F. G. HOLWECK

REV. GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER

EDWARD BROWN

Volume III

JULY 1921

Number 3

PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SAINT LOUIS

209 WALNUT STREET, ST. LOUIS, MO.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS.....	154
THE POTAWATOMI MISSION OF COUNCIL BLUFFS	
<i>Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.</i>	155
LIFE STORY OF ALEXANDER BELLESIME A HERO OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	
<i>A Sister of St. Joseph, of Carondelet</i>	174
AN APPEAL	180
NOTES	181
DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES	191

Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

Established February 7th, 1917

OFFICERS AND STANDING COMMITTEES

1920-1921

President—MOST REV. JOHN J. GLENNON, D. D.

First Vice-President—RT. REV. MGR. J. A. CONNOLLY, V. G.

Second Vice-President and Treasurer—EDWARD BROWN

Third Vice-President—LOUISE M. GARESCHÉ

Secretary—REV. EDWARD H. AMSINGER

*Librarians
and Archivists*

{ REV. F. G. HOLWECK
REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.
REV. GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

*Executive
Committee*

{ RT. REV. MGR. J. A. CONNOLLY, V. G., President
RT. REV. MGR. J. J. TANNRATH, Chancellor
REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.
REV. F. G. HOLWECK
REV. MARTIN L. BRENNAN, Sc D.
REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER
REV. EDWARD H. AMSINGER
EDWARD BROWN

*Committee
on Library
and Publications*

{ REV. CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D. D.
REV. F. G. HOLWECK
REV. GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.
REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER
EDWARD BROWN

COMMUNICATIONS

General Correspondence should be addressed to Rev. Edward H. Amsinger, Secretary, 744 S. Third St., St. Louis, Mo.

Exchange publications and matter submitted for publication in the ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW should be sent to the Editor-in-chief, Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C.M., DD., Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.

Remittances should be made to Edward Brown, Treasurer, 511 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.

THE POTAWATOMI MISSION OF COUNCIL BLUFFS

I. THE POTAWATOMI

Of the Indian tribes that shared the ministrations of the earlier Jesuit missionaries of the Middle West none have filled a larger place in American history than the Potawatomi. The earliest known habitat of this interesting Algonquin folk was the lower Michigan peninsula. Driven thence by Iroquois invaders, they settled on and about the islands at the mouth of Green Bay, Lake Michigan, where they were met about 1632 by the adventurer, Jean Nicolet, the first white man to reach Wisconsin. Later on they moved south, displacing the Miami and holding both "shores of Lake Michigan from about Manitowoc (44°) on the West around to about Grand River (43°) on the East and Southward to the Wabash, comprising territory in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan, with some fifty villages, including those on the sites of Milwaukee, South Bend, (St. Joseph) and Grand Rapids."¹

Of Algonquin stock, the Potawatomi were allied in blood, language, manners and character to the Ottawa and the Ojibway or Chippewa, with whom they seemed to have formed originally a single people.² The Potawatomi or "fire-makers," "people of the fire-place," may thus owe their name to the fact that they separated from the other two tribes and built a new fire, in other words, set themselves up as an independent tribe. They were hunters and fishers, tilling the ground but sparingly and this for a meager harvest of maize. They were a fighting race and, in consequence, frequently at war

¹ James Mooney, *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The spelling of Indian tribal names, except in cited passages and documents, will conform to Government usage as adopted in Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, 2v., Washington, 1912. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30). In most Indian tribal names, as in Potawatomi, Kansa, there is only one form for both singular and plural. It may be noted that the recognized form "Potawatomi," which is of rather uncommon occurrence in printed literature, popular usage sanctions the spelling "Pottawatomie," as "Pottowatomie" Countv Kansas, is employed by Farber De Smet in a letter written from Council Bluffs, August 20, 1838. Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 1; 160.

² Hodge, *op. cit.*, 2: 289. "According to the tradition of all three tribes, the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa were originally one people, and seemed to have reached the region about the upper end of Lake Huron together. Here they separated, but the three have sometimes formed a loose confederacy, or have acted in concert and in 1846, those removed beyond the Mississippi, asserting their former connection, asked to be again united."

with the other tribes and with the whites. They supported the French against the English in the great struggle between the two powers for Canada and the West and under Pontiac continued the fight against the English until 1765. That picturesque hero, the son of a Chippewa mother and an Ottawa by adoption, is called in a contemporary document, "great chief of all the Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawatomes and of all the lakes and rivers of the West."³ When, in July, 1767, Pontiac concluded a treaty of peace at Oswego with Sir William Johnson, it was in presence of the chiefs of the Potawatomi as of the Ottawa, Huron and Chippewa tribes. In the Revolutionary War the Potawatomi made common cause with the British and again in 1812 a part of them at least, under the leadership of Tecumseh, took up arms once more against the Americans. It is a curious fact that this tribe, when the opportunity came, ranged itself with the enemies of the United States.

Between the Potawatomi and the early Jesuit missionaries numerous links of association were formed from the first entrance of the latter into the Middle West. Jogues and Raymbaut, the first Jesuits to reach the upper Michigan peninsula, met certain members of the tribe at the celebration of "the feast of the dead" in the Huron country in 1641. At Allouez's mission of Le Saint Esprit on Lake Superior the Potawatomi were frequent visitors. Here Marquette made their acquaintance and in 1674, on his last trip to the Illinois country, he had some of their tribesmen in his party. In 1669, Allouez opened the mission of St. Francis Xavier, near the head of Green Bay, Wisconsin, for the neighboring Potawatomi, Sauk, Foxes and Winnebago. But the most considerable of the Potawatomi missions was that of St. Joseph on the river of the same name which empties into Lake Michigan near its south-eastern corner. Founded in 1689 by the resourceful Allouez, it continued to be served by resident or visiting Jesuit missionaries down to the suppression of their Order. It stood near a fort of the same name on the St. Joseph River, which connects by a short portage with the Kankakee and Illinois Rivers, and became for that reason a favorite Lakes-to-the-Gulf route for the early French explorers and voyageurs. The site of the mission-buildings lay a few miles north of the Indiana state-line and close to the town-site of Niles in Michigan. A Miami village, one of the three belonging to the tribe, was in the immediate neighborhood of the mission and shared with the Potawatomi the ministrations of the Jesuits. This accounts for the circumstances that St. Joseph's is sometimes described in the *Relations* as a miami mission. The last of the older Jesuit missionaries in the west were Fathers Marie Louis Lefranc and Pierre du Jaunay, stationed at Mackinac till about 1765, and Father Pierre Pothier, who died at the Huron mission opposite Detroit in 1781. They were the last of the Society to visit the Indians on the St. Joseph.

By the treaty of Greenville in 1795 the Potawatomi agreed to sell

³ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1: 273.

to the United States a tract of land six miles square lying at the mouth of the Chicago River. Here was destined to rise in later years the great metropolis of the West and the fourth largest city in the world. On August 7, 1826, only thirty-one years later than the treaty of Greenville, occurred the first election in the history of Chicago. The names of the voters on this occasion, thirty-five in number, indicate that fully three-fourths of them were Indians and mixed bloods. The names include those of Daniel Bourassa, Antoine Ouilmette, Francis LaFramboise Sr., Francis LaFramboise Jr., Joseph LaFramboise, Claude LaFramboise, Joseph Pothier, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson.⁴ A few more years passed away and the anomalous position of the Potawatomi as property owners in the commonwealth of Illinois came to an end. By the treaty of Chicago, concluded September 26, 1833, and ratified February 21, 1835, the united bands of Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi sold to the government the remnant of their holdings in Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, 5,000,000 acres in all, receiving in consideration one dollar per acre and in addition, a grant of 5,000,000 acres of land on the northeast side of the Missouri River.⁵ To this new home, represented roughly on the map of to-day by the westernmost third of the state of Iowa, the Indians agreed to move immediately on the ratification of the treaty.⁶

In 1835 a delegation of Potawatomi under the conduct of a Mr. Gordon visited the Iowa reserve. They found it more remotely situated than they had anticipated and rather uncomfortably close to the Sioux and other bellicose tribes of the Upper Missouri.⁷ In consequence of the unfavorable reports of the prospectors the emigrant bands of

⁴ Andreas, *History of Chicago*.

⁵ The text of the Chicago treaty of 1833 is in Kappler, *Indian Affairs and Treaties*, 2: 402. A discussion of its terms and of the circumstances which attended its signing may be read in Milo Milton Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835*, (University of Chicago Press, 1913) 348-368. The Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi, closely related in blood and language, were grouped together under a government official designation as the United Nation. However, as an Indian agent at Council Bluffs observed, the designation was a misnomer, the fact being that the group of Indians described collectively as the United Nation were almost exclusively of Potawatomi stock. Reports emanating from the Indian Department at this period distinguished carefully between the United Nation (Council Bluffs Potawatomi) and the Potawatomi of Indiana (St. Joseph and Wabash bands), who were settled during the period 1837-1848 on the Osage River reserve. The Council Bluffs Potawatomi also went frequently by the name of the Prairie band, while their kinsmen of the Osage River reserve were called Potawatomi of the Woods (*Potawatomi des forests*). In 1848 both Osage River and Council Bluffs reserves were abandoned and the two sections of the Potawatomi tribe gathered on a common reserve on the Kaw River, a few miles above Topeka. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his report of November 28, 1848, refers to the United Nation or Council Bluffs Potawatomi as "the Chicago Indians."

⁶ "Boundaries. North by a line running due east from the sources of the Little Sioux River to the Western boundary of the Sac and Fox country, as established by the treaty of Prairie du Chien; west by the Little Sioux and Missouri Rivers; south by the State of Missouri; east by the divide between the waters of the Des Moines, Skunk and Iowa on the East, and those flowing into the Missouri on the West. Extent: 5,000,000 of acres by treaty commencing in latitude 40° 30' N, where the boundary of the state strikes the Missouri, that river washes the western border of the country of the "United Nation" for a distance of not less, probably, than ninety-five or one hundred miles. The average distance from the Missouri to the divide which forms the boundary of the Sac and Fox country may be about the same."

⁷ *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian (or Western Territory)*. Published by Isaac McCoy, Shawanoe Baptist Mission House, Indian Territory, May, 1836, p. 20.

the "Chicago" Potawatomi or United Nation, as they were officially designated, on leaving Illinois and the adjacent states, took a south-westerly course that brought them towards the junction of the Kaw and Missouri Rivers and even beyond the latter stream into the Indian country proper.⁸ It was not until 1837 that the "Chicago Potawatomi finally reached and settled down on their proper lands. Two detachments of them arrived that year by Missouri River steamboat at Council Bluffs, followed not long after by the main body of the nation, who marched up the east bank of the Missouri from their first halting places in the neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth and the Blacksnake Hills.⁹ The last parties of the United Nation to join their fellow-tribesmen on the new reserve arrived in 1838.¹⁰

II. NEGOTIATING WITH GOVERNMENT.

In the course of his western prospecting trip of 1835 Father Van Quickenborne, S.J., made his first acquaintance with the United Nation. The meeting was a providential one, for it was to lead ultimately to the establishment of a Catholic mission in their midst.

"I had the consolation of falling in with a party of Pottawatomies sent by their nation to inspect the new lands which the Government had given in exchange for the old. The Pottawatomie, Chippewa and Ottawa Nations having inter-married on a large scale, go at present under the name of the United Nation of the Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatomies. Under this name they have made a treaty with the United States Government that obliges them to go and reside on the left bank of the Missouri a little above the Kickapoos. They were formerly dispersed over a vast territory out of which have been carved the states of Illinois, Indiana and Michigan. Our Fathers had several posts among them, two of which, St. Joseph and Arbre Croche are still in existence.¹¹ The last named prospers highly. Frequent mention is made in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* of the mission as also of the virtues of the tireless missionary who presides over it. In the deputation I met were several Catholics, one of them being the chief (of the nation).¹² They told me it would be highly bene-

⁸ The first emigration of the "Chicago" Potawatomi took place in September, 1835. Cf. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1; 164.

⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1837*. The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs containing reports from the various agents and sub-agents was not issued separately at this period but was embodied in the series of Senate Documents for the respective years.

¹⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1840*. According to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the emigration of the "Chicago Indians" (i. e. the United Nation of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potowatomi began in 1835 and terminated in 1838. The entire number of Indians removed to the Council Bluffs agency prior to 1840 was 2,734.

¹¹ The Potawatomi Mission on the St. Joseph River, founded in 1689 by the veteran missionary, Claude Allouez, stood on the river-bank, a few miles north of the Indiana-Michigan line and close to the town-site of Niles, Michigan. The mission was reopened in 1830 by the venerable Father Stephan Badin and a large number of converts made among the Indians.

¹² The Potawatomi met by Father Van Quickenborne in 1835 were of the group of "Chicago" Indians, who were assigned the Council Bluff reserve under the treaty of 1833. The Catholic chief that figures in the missionary's account was evidently Billy Caldwell, principal business chief of the tribe. He was reputed to be the son of an English army officer and a Potawatomi woman, and was attached to the Indian hero, Tecumseh, in the capacity of secretary, fighting with him at the battle of the Thames in which the latter perished. He was known during his residence in Chicago under the soubriquet of "Sauganash" or Englishman.

ficial to them to have a mission in their new country, that they could not all go to Arbre Croche, that the lands assigned them by government were their only means of subsistence that there the annuities would be paid and the protection of the government secured to them. Once the mission was established other Catholic Indians would come and join them. Friends of ours in a position to judge impartially of the real condition of things far from challenging these reasons for the mission in question supply new ones. According to them, we should thereby render a distinct service not only to the natives, but to the entire Catholic Church of the United States."¹³

In September, 1835, Van Quickenborne was in Washington to secure Government subsidies for his projected Kickapoo and Potawatomi schools. His petition of September 17, addressed to the Secretary of War, was referred by that official to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Herring, who replied on the 22nd of the same month, granting an appropriation in favor of the Kickapoo school, but refusing the one asked for in behalf of the Potawatomi school.

"In regard to a school among the United Nations of Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatomies:

The treaty of September, 1833, which was ratified in February, 1835, provided for the appropriation of seventy thousand dollars 'for purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts.' In accordance with the wishes of these Indians, this sum has been invested in stock. This stock bears an interest of five per cent, of which the first payment will be made in January next. As the sum must be expended west of the Mississippi, the Department considers it proper that the interest which shall accrue prior to the settlement of these Indians in their own country shall also be invested. As the emigration will not probably be completed within two years, no definite arrangements will now be made for the application of this fund. At a proper time the Department will determine what part of it shall be applied for the support of schools, and what part to the other objects, indicated by the general clause, 'the encouragement of domestic arts.' The wishes you have now expressed on the subject will then be respectfully considered."¹⁴

The Kickapoo mission and school became a reality in 1836 and Father Van Quickenborne while residing there again came into contact with the United Nation. He visited them in their camp on the east bank of the Missouri opposite Fort Leavenworth, where on January 29, 1837, he baptized fourteen children of the tribe, all under four years of age. The first child to receive the sacrament was Susanna, daughter of Claude LaFramboise and a Potawatomi woman, and she had for godfather the business chief of the tribe, William Caldwell, the Sauganash of early Chicago history. Caldwell stood sponsor for two other infants. Other sponsors on the occasion, their names duly recorded in the Baptismal Register of the Kickapoo Mission, were Claude LaFramboise, Toussaint Chevalier, Joseph Chevalier, Francis Bourbonnet and Michael Arcoite. As a matter of fact, though the circumstance, if he knew it, could scarcely have impressed him as particularly significant, the missionary had before him a group of ex-

¹³ *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 9: 161.

¹⁴ *Missouri Province Archives*.

citizens of Chicago, some of whose names appear on the poll-book of the election of 1826, the first in the history of the metropolis.¹⁵

Father Van Quickenborne died August 17, 1837, without having realized his plans for a Potawatomi mission. But the project was not suffered to lapse. Father Verhaegen, Superior of the Missouri Mission, of the Society of Jesus, wrote under date of August 5, 1837, to the Secretary of War:

"While at Washington in September 1835, the Rev. Mr. Van Quickenborne solicited the favor of forming an establishment among the Pottawatomies and stated what the Society would be able to effect towards the accomplishment of the benevolent views of the Government for their civilization. The application was then premature. I believe it is no longer so. Permit me therefore, dear Sir, to renew the petition which was then made. I am ready to send to them two missionaries with a teacher. General Gaines held lately a council during which the subject of this my application was discussed by the chiefs and the principal men of the nation; they expressed a great desire to have a Catholic establishment among them and they will shortly send you a petition detailing the grounds on which they base their application.¹⁶

Col. Benton promised me to lay before the Department several questions on which I consulted him. I trust, dear Sir, that actuated by the earnest desire which the Government has always manifested for the welfare of the Indian, you will have the goodness to consider the subject."¹⁷

The petition of the Potawatomi chief reads as follows:

"To his Excellency, the Secretary of the War Department:

The petition of the undersigned chief and warriors of the Potawatomi nation respectfully represent:

1. That in the course of a few months everything necessary for their permanent location in their new lands will be procured and that agreeably to the benevolent intentions of the Government they are disposed to better their situation by the introduction of the domestic arts and education among them.
2. "That a school being necessary for the instruction of their children, they wish to see one established among them with the least possible delay.
3. That they desire this school to be conducted by missionaries sent to them by the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri, because many of the nation have embraced the Catholic religion and will by this arrangement be enabled to enjoy the comforts of their religion.

¹⁵ Father Van Quickenborne's baptisms among the Potawatomi near Fort Leavenworth in January, 1837, were entered by him in the *Kickapoo Mission Register* now in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Kansas. The location of the Potawatomi camp was within the limits of the triangular strip of land along the east bank of the Missouri subsequently known as the Platte Purchase. Though this tract was not included in the reserve assigned the Potawatomi by the treaty of 1833, the Indians on leaving Chicago were conducted thither by the contractors in charge of the emigration, presumably because the Indians could not be induced to occupy their Iowa lands, which reports had led them to believe to be undesirable. The Potawatomi, however, were never anything but trespassers on the Platte Purchase and were compelled at length (1837) to vacate it and move up into their officially assigned reserve in southwestern Iowa. See Babbitt, *Early Days at Council Bluffs*, Washington, 1916, p. 26. For data concerning the religious status of the "Chicago" Potawatomi, see *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1: 156.

¹⁶ Brigadier-General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, (1777—1849), hero of the war of 1812 and of the Indian wars in Florida. Father Verhaegen had formed an acquaintance with him in St. Louis.

¹⁷ *Files of the Indian Bureau*, Washington. Thomas Hart Benton, U. S. Senator from Missouri, 1821—51, had several years earlier become associated with the St. Louis Jesuits through his efforts to obtain for St. Louis University a township of land to serve as a basis for an endowment fund. See *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, 1: 99.

4. That the common feeling of the nation is in favor of the Catholic clergy, who, speaking the English and the French languages, can fully second the execution of the plan which the Government proposes to itself for the amelioration of their nation."

Signed in the presence of

B. D. Moon, Capt. 1st D.

Wm. McPherson

B. Caldwell

B. R. Hunt, Agt.

WA BON SU

PIERISH LA CLAIRE

[Ten signatures]

*Fountain Blue on the East
Side of the Missouri near
Council Bluffs.*

12th September, 1837.¹⁸

The Potawatomi petition duly marked with the crosses of the chiefs, was sent to Father Verhaegen, who in turn transmitted it to the Secretary of War ¹⁹. Months passed by but no answer came from Washington. Meanwhile, Father Hoecken, of the Kickapoo Mission, was advised from Council Bluffs that the Indians were anxiously awaiting the missionary. The materials for a church were at hand. A tract of land was promised to the Fathers and the old fort, now the government issue house, offered to them for a residence by the commanding officer, Col. Kearney. The author of the *Annual Letters* for 1837 notes that everything as far as the Society of Jesus is concerned is ready for the opening of the mission. The only thing lacking is the sanction of the Government.

For some reason or other the sanction of the government continued to be withheld. At length Father Verhaegen, tired of waiting for instructions from Washington, determined in the spring of 1838 to press the business in person at the capital. Two days before setting out he acquainted Bishop Rosati with the purpose of his journey:

"I have just arrived here, with the intention of going on to Washington, to leave for Louisville. The interests of the Indian Mission make this trip absolutely necessary. I have written to the Government officials, but to no purpose; these gentlemen know how to keep silence, when their plans require it. More than seven hundred Indians who have become Catholics urgently demand a Catholic establishment in

¹⁸ This document is in the files of the Indian Bureau, Washington. The Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri was a designation occasionally attached in official papers and correspondence of the period to the Jesuit Vice-Province of Missouri.

The two names, Wa Bon Su (Wah-bon-seh, Wabansia) and Pierish (Pierre) La Clair (Le Claire, Le Clerc) are those of chiefs prominent in Potawatomi history. Wa Bon Su remained at peace with the whites in the Black Hawk War of 1832. He was one of the orators of the Potawatomi delegation that went to Washington in 1845 to negotiate favorable terms for the cession of the Iowa reserve. "Stately old Wah-bon-seh, with the snows of eighty winters on his head," so he is described by Richard Smith Elliott, the Indian agent who piloted the delegation to Washington. (Elliott, *Notes taken in Sixty Years*, St. Louis, 1883, p. 198.) Pierish Le Clair, a half-breed, was present at the Fort Dearborn massacre of 1812 and in the capacity of interpreter negotiated the terms of the transfer. A daughter of his, according to Elliott, was educated in the Sacred Heart Convent of St. Louis. Le Clair was also one of the Potawatomi orators that appeared in Washington in 1845 to discuss the cession of the Iowa reserve to the Government. "Peerish Le Clair, in Indian lingo, was to refer to some former treaties, the promises of which had not been kept by the government, and was to expatiate on the charms of the country about Chicago, where the frogs in the marshes sang more sweetly than birds in other parts—a land of beauty which they had ceded to the government for a mere trifle, although it had been their home so long that they had traditions of Pierrot, the first white man who ever set foot upon it, two hundred years before." Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 208. Pierish Le Claire died on the Kaw River Reserve in 1848, being attended in his last moments by a Jesuit priest from St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission.

¹⁹ Account in French by Father Verhaegen, dated St. Louis, June 20, 1838; reproduced in abridged form in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1838.

their midst. The Government promised it to Father Van Quickenborne and now the letters I wrote to the Secretary of the Indian Bureau remain without an answer. I will make the ears of the guilty ones tingle a little. Besides, experience has convinced me that without many privileges, the work of spreading the Faith among the Indians cannot succeed. These privileges I shall try to obtain."²⁰

The season of navigation was scarcely open, when on March 10 Father Verhaegen left St. Louis for the East. The Mississippi river steamer that carried him had her wheels roughly used by the ice-floes that continued to move down stream. From Wheeling he travelled by stage over the Alleghanies. There were three feet of snow in the mountain districts and the stage-driver was hard put to it to keep to the obliterated highway. At last on March 23, only thirteen days out from St. Louis, Father Verhaegen was safely lodged with his brethren at Georgetown College.

Without loss of time, he set himself to the business that had brought him to Washington. In company with his friend, Secretary Benton, he presented himself with a carefully drawn-up petition at the War Department. But the Secretary of War was ill at his residence and an interview with him could not be arranged. The two Missourians proceeded then to the White House and here Senator Benton introduced his Jesuit friend to President Van Buren, who conversed pleasantly with him for half an hour. M. Nicollet a French geographer and scientist in the U. S. government service, and a visitor at St. Louis University in the course of his Western travels, took a lively interest in Father Verhaegen's plans.²¹ He tried several times to secure an interview for the Father with the Secretary of War, but the latter's illness continued to stand in the way. However, M. Nicollet succeeded in inducing Brigadier General Gratiot to take a hand in the affair.²² Accompanied by the General and bearing a letter of introduction from Senator Benton, Father Verhaegen now called on Commissioner of Indian Affairs Crawford and laid before him his project of a Potawatomi mission. A communication from the Commissioner dated the following day informed the Superior that his petition had been granted. In particular, he was to be allowed to establish a mission-post among the Potawatomi and to visit either personally or through his subordinates all the tribes settled within the limits of the Indian territory. In one respect only did his negotiations fail. His petition for a subsidy in behalf of a Potawatomi school was denied on the ground that the Potawatomi had not as yet occupied the land assigned to them by the government treaty.

²⁰ St. Louis Archdiocesan Archives.

²¹ Jean Nicolas Nicollet, born in Cluses, Savoy, July 24, 1786. Explored the valleys of the Red, Arkansas, Missouri and Upper Mississippi Rivers; of the last-named stream he determined the sources. Letters addressed by him to Father De Smet are in Chitenden and Richardson's *De Smet*, 4: 1549, 1552.

²² Brigadier-General Charles Gratiot (1788—1855), distinguished soldier of the War of 1812, and member of one of the pioneer families of St. Louis. He was for a period inspector of West Point and chief engineer of the army engineering bureau in Washington. It was under his direction that Col. Robert E. Lee constructed certain works on Bloody Island in the Mississippi to protect the harbor of St. Louis.

III. OPENING OF ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION.

His mission thus accomplished, Father Verhaegen started at once for the West. An incident, terribly common in steamboat travelling before the Civil War, marked his homeward journey. One hundred and ten miles from St. Louis, one of the boilers of the steamer on which he was a passenger exploded. Fortunately, the engineer's presence of mind enabled him to give warning of the impending danger and the accident passed off without loss of human life, the disabled craft being towed to shore by passing steamers. On April 25, only six weeks since his departure from St. Louis for the East, Father Verhaegen called a meeting of his official advisers, Father Elet, De Theux and Van de Velde in St. Louis University and laid before them the results of his visit to Washington. All were of opinion that a Potawatomi mission should be started without delay at Council Bluffs, and Fathers Verreydt and Paillason, with Brother Mazella were named for the initial personnel. Later, at Father De Theux's private suggestion, the Superior substituted Father Peter De Smet for Father Paillason.²³ The altered choice had significance, for it marked the almost accidental entry into Indian missionary life of one destined to become the most conspicuous figure among Catholic Indian missionaries of the United States. General William Clark, an old friend of the Jesuit Indian missions, lent ready encouragement and support to the new venture. He at once prepared the passports necessary for all whites entering the Indian country and instructed the sub-agent at Council Bluffs to lend the missionaries all possible protection and to aid them to the best of his ability to make their enterprise a success.²⁴

Preparations to equip and send off the missionary party were now made with surprising rapidity. Only eight days had elapsed since Father Verhaegen's return from Washington when he left St. Louis, May 23, 1838, on the steamer Howard, in company with Fathers De Smet, Helias, Eysvogels and Brother Claessens. Of the party Father De Smet was the only one bound for Council Bluffs. Father Helias was on his way to the vicinity of Jefferson City, there to inaugurate a period of missionary and parochial activity extending over thirty-five years. Father Eysvogels was to replace Father Verreydt at the Kickapoo village, while Brother Claessens was to replace Brother Mazella at the same post. The voyage up the Missouri was not without incident. On the fourth day the steamer's engine broke down, with the result that the engineer had to leave his disabled craft and return to St. Louis to repair the broken fitting. Meantime, Sunday came and the passengers, about a hundred in number from various parts of the United States, asked Father Verhaegen to preach for them in the ship's cabin. He agreed and even invited them to suggest a text. They

²³ *Liber Consultationum*. Father Verreydt and Brother Mazella were at this time stationed at the Kickapoos Mission near Fort Leavenworth.

²⁴ General William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Superintendent of Indian Affairs with headquarters in St. Louis. His issuing of passports to Fathers Verreydt and De Smet was the last service he was called upon to render to Catholic missionaries, as he died shortly after, September, 1838.

gave him the words of Ecclesiastes, ii, 2, "If the tree fall to the North or to the South, there shall it lie." The priest was not disconcerted. "Like a good soldier in the field," he observes in narrating the incident, "I had my arms with me." He adjusted his text to the subject of purgatory and preached for an hour to an interested audience. After a delay of several days, the engineer was again with his boat, which once more started up stream. She had made about forty miles, when the machinery collapsed a second time. There was no way out of this fresh predicament but for the engineer to return again to St. Louis with the attachment that had caused all the trouble. Father Verhaegen got off the boat at Independence, while Father De Smet and his two companions were left on board to watch the baggage and continue their way by water as far as Fort Leavenworth. From Independence Father Verhaegen, having purchased a horse, made his way by land to Fort Leavenworth. He arrived there four days after leaving the steamer and almost at the same moment that the steamer herself put in at the Fort. Leaving Father De Smet to superintend the landing of the party's baggage, he proceeded with Father Eysvogels and Brother Claessens to the Kickapoo mission-house. Early the next morning he sent a horse to the Fort for Father De Smet, but the latter in his eagerness to reach his brethren had started off on his own account only to lose his way in the tangled woodland. It was Father De Smet's introduction to the perils of the Indian country. Late in the afternoon he found himself to his great relief at the mission-house, only about five miles distant from the Fort.²⁵

There was doubt at first whether the two Fathers and the Brother assigned to the Potawatomi mission would be able to find a steamer to take them the rest of the way to Council Bluffs. Fortunately, the *Wilmington*, a government transport, was soon to leave Fort Leavenworth for the Upper Missouri. On May 25 the missionary party accordingly left Fort Leavenworth on board the *Wilmington* and arrived at Council Bluffs on the afternoon of May 31. On their way up stream the travellers passed through the country of the Kickapoo, Sauks, Iowa and Ottawa. The physical aspects of the region, as well as the characteristics and customs of the Indians fell under Father De Smet's accurate observation. He was indeed a born observer with a talent for literary portrayal surprising in one who never made a profession of letters. The account which he wrote to Father Verhaegen immediately on his arrival at Council Bluffs was the first in the long series of descriptive and narrative sketches of Indian mission-life that were to be read with eager interest by thousands on both sides of the Atlantic.

'We arrived among the Potawatomes on the afternoon of the 31st of May. Nearly 2,000 savages, in their finest rigs and carefully painted in all sorts of patterns, were awaiting the boat at the landing. I had not seen so imposing a sight nor such fine-looking Indians in America: the Iowas, the Sauks and the Otoes are beggars compared to these. Father Verreydt and Brother Mazella went at once to the camp of the

²⁵ French account by Father Verhaegen. Cf. note 19.

half-breed chief, Mr. Caldwell, four miles from the river. We were far from finding here the four or five hundred fervent Catholics we had been told of at the College of St. Louis. Of the 2,000 Potawatomies who were at the landing, not a single one seemed to have the slightest knowledge of our arrival among them, and they all showed themselves cold or at least indifferent toward us. Out of some thirty families of French half-breeds two only came to shake hands with us; only a few have been baptized. All are very ignorant concerning the truths of religion; they cannot even make the sign of the cross nor say a pater or an ave. This, as I suppose, is the cause of their great reserve toward us. They change their wives as often as the gentlemen of St. Louis change their coats.

"A fortnight after we arrived we discovered one single Catholic Indian; he came to see us and asked our blessing. We tried to get him to stay with us; he knew his prayers well and could serve us for a catechist.

"Mr. [Caldwell] though far advanced in years, seems to be a very worthy honest man; he is well disposed towards us and ready to assist us. The half-breeds generally seem affable and inclined to have their children instructed, and we receive many tokens of affection from the Indians themselves; they come to see us every day. The chief has given us possession of three cabins and we have changed the fort which Col. Kearney has given us into a church."²⁶

²⁶ Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 1: 157, 158. Caldwell's village was distant about four miles north slightly by east from the steam-boat landing which was in a very deep bend of the Missouri. The straightening out of this bend some years later brought Lake Manawa into existence and left the river-bank at a further distance from the village of two or three miles. Caldwell's camp or village was laid out within the present town-limits of Council Bluffs and, it would appear, around the government block-house as a centre. This block-house was built under instructions from Col. Kearney of Fort Leavenworth, by Company C of the first Regiment of Dragoons, Captain D. B. Moore in command, sometime between August and November, 1837, for the purpose of affording protection to the Potawatomi from the hostile tribes to the North. The block-house, having served for a while as an issue-house for government supplies and being found no longer necessary for the purpose for which it was built, was turned over by Col. Kearney to the Jesuit missionaries, who converted it into a chapel, the first house dedicated to Catholic worship in Western Iowa. In Babbitt's *Early Days in Council Bluffs*, p. 59, is a suppositious picture of the "Old Blockhouse" with the following comment:

"By this picture attempt is made to depict the old block-house as it probably appeared when completed by Captain D. P. Moore in 1837, together with the blunt nose of bluff wheron it stood. No portholes are shown because there was no reason why any should have been originally provided. United States troops did not ordinarily employ cannon in the control of the Indians at that early day, and it is not probable that the same was furnished the Potawatomies for their protection. The building was a simple hewn-log structure, twenty-four feet square, without openings on the north and west sides except loop-holes for small-arms fire. After it came into the possession of the Jesuit missionaries small windows were cut in those sides, which were afterwards taken by some to have been portholes for cannon fire. The folly of such belief is apparent upon consideration of the size and character of the building, and what would probably have happened to the occupants had a large gun been fired from within. No frontier block-house, even at the largest of the government military posts, appear to have been constructed with a view to firing cannon from within. When cannon were provided for such posts they were usually mounted outside the buildings in bastions especially designed for the purpose."

Besides the blockhouse, the missionaries were in possession of three little cabins, the gift of Caldwell. "We have a fine little chapel, twenty-four feet square, surmounted with a little belfry," Father De Smet wrote July 20, 1838; "four poor little cabins besides made of rough logs; they are fourteen feet each way, with roof of rude rafters, which protect us from neither rain nor hail, and still less from snow in winter." In 1839 the chapel was enlarged and in the same year a new house was built by the missionaries.

The location of the block-house and other mission-buildings has been definitely ascertained. The "Old Fort" or "Mission House" with other buildings used for mission purposes stood upon the West half of the Southwest quarter of Section 30, Township 75 North, of Range 43 West, Fifth Principal Meridian, *op. cit.*, 5. 57. The Rev. Francis R. Cassilly, S. J., of Creighton University, Omaha, who investigated the site at the end of 1916 writes in his brochure, *The Old Jesuit Mission of Council Bluffs*, p. 2:

"Our story is concerned with this spur of land, which may well be called a sacred spot, for on it tradition and reliable historical documents tell us rested the first church

August 20, 1838 Father DeSmet communicated to his Superior in St. Louis, Father Verhaegen, further particulars on the progress of the Mission:

"I think I told you, the first time I wrote you, that I had already baptized twenty-two persons. To-day the number of those upon whom I have had the consolation of conferring holy baptism amounts to seventy-six, among whom I reckon thirty-four adults of ages from twelve to sixty years. I am sure your Reverence would be touched to see with what fervor these good Indians assist at the holy sacrifice and with what docility they listen to our instructions. For my part, I assure you that I see the work of God in it and that I feel penetrated with gratitude toward those who by their prayers cease not to obtain for us from heaven these unexpected successes. One of our first conquests for Jesus Christ was the spouse of the head chief of the Potawatomi nation. She enjoys the greatest consideration among the Indians, and I venture to hope that her example will have a great influence upon the rest of her compatriots. Since I could not at the beginning express myself with sufficient facility, I was obliged for several weeks to make use of an interpreter. As soon as I found her well enough instructed and disposed, I admitted her to the sacrament of regeneration, which she received with all signs of the liveliest faith and the most ardent piety. Eight other persons, who had imitated her example, shared her happiness.

"A short time afterward, on the 9th of August, a young person of eighteen years of age, who had long been sick, came over six miles to see me. She seemed in a state, of extreme exhaustion when I saw her in the church. 'Father,' she said, 'I have a great presentiment that my end is near; I know that you are the Great Spirit's minister, and I have made a great effort today to come and beg you to show me the road that leads to heaven.' I spent several hours in instructing her in the most essential dogmas of our holy religion, and as I found her fully disposed to receive holy Baptism, I thought it my duty to bestow it upon her at once. I have never seen a person so self-possessed, so modest, so deeply touched during the administration of the holy sacrament. After the ceremony she said to me: 'Oh! now, until my last breath, I shall love the Great Spirit with all my heart, and shall honor his good Mother with a daughter's love. Oh! I am happy in this moment!'

"On the 13th of the same month, an Indian woman, brought me her little child, who was sick, praying me to baptize it. 'Alas!' said the poor woman, 'I had another son, and he died without having received this favor and it would break my heart should this one be likewise exiled from the paradise of the Great Spirit'. Among those whom I have baptized are a Protestant lady and her child; she is now one of the most fervent of Catholics; all the others are Indians or half-breeds, who do not know even the name of our holy religion. There are a few families besides who are preparing to receive the same favor. My companion, Reverend Father Verreydt, lately visited a village belonging

and school of Council Bluffs and Western Iowa. The location of the mission buildings and attached graveyard was mainly in the two blocks now bounded by Broadway on the north, Voorhis Street on the south, Union Street on the east and Franklin Avenue and State Street on the west. Pierce Street intersects the site. No doubt the graveyard, which is mentioned by Father De Smet in his correspondence, and which continued in use after the abandonment of the mission, overlapped these boundaries, as the finding of bodies indicate. On the northern block the Clausen residence, an old-time building, stands approximately on the site of the old mission-church; the rear block is now occupied by the Pierce public school." Very close to the mission-site was a spring, probably the one still existing at the foot of the hill a few feet southwest from the corner of Broadway and Union Streets. The Catholic Mission at Council Bluffs appears under the name St. Joseph's in letters written from the Mission by Father De Smet. In a letter of the missionary's of much later date (1867) the mission is called St. Mary's.

Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 1; 168.

to the mission, where they promised to let him baptize all the little children.

"The feast we have just been celebrating in honor of the assumption of the glorious queen of heaven will never be forgotten in this mission; it was celebrated in a poor wooden church, but I can assure you that no place in the world ever offered a more consoling spectacle nor one more agreeable to the Almighty and his most holy mother.

"In the afternoon of that day I baptized eleven adults and a little Indian girl who was sick. Three of these adults had already reached their fiftieth year; five were twenty, and three about fifteen years old. All exhibited during the ceremony a great deal of piety and fervor. Afterward we sang together several canticles to praise and bless the Lord's mercies. At the close of the ceremony, four couples received the nuptial benediction according to the Catholic rite. All who were present were so touched with what they had seen and heard that, yielding to the grace of the Holy Spirit, they demanded urgently to be instructed. Among this number was an old Indian woman belonging to the great medicine band, who, as soon as she reached home, immediately destroyed her medicine bundle. Going toward evening to visit a newly converted family, we were agreeably surprised and edified to find all the adults and several others besides assembled to recite in common the most fervent prayers, and to thank the Lord for the signal favors that he had granted them that day. I cannot conceal from you, dear Father, that in no circumstance of my life have I ever felt, myself, more joy and consolation than in this happy moment."²⁷

IV. A SHORT-LIVED MISSION.

In the event the Catholic missionaries among the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs were not to achieve any substantial measure of success. As among the Kickapoo, so among the Potawatomi, the drink evil assumed frightful proportions, frustrating the labors of the missionaries and making it very unlikely that any permanent good could be effected among the tribe. Interesting and graphic accounts of the havoc wrought among the Indians by whiskey are to be found

²⁷ Schools for the Potawatomi children were maintained by the missionaries, but without government subsidy. "We have opened a school," Father De Smet informed Father Roothaan, the Jesuit General, a few weeks after the arrival of larger quarters we (Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, p. 164), "but for the lack of larger quarters we are only able to receive some thirty children. Twice a day we give an instruction to those whom we are preparing for baptism." The *Annual Letters* for 1839 give a rather glowing account of the results obtained in the school. The boys, as everybody acknowledges, are changed into entirely new beings. People marvel to see so many boys studying from morning to night, singing hymns composed by the missionaries, reciting the rosary, and assisting at religious instructions twice a day. So tenacious is the memory of the boys that they can remember prayers heard only twice. A choir made up of forty of their number sing hymns in English, French, Latin and Potawatomi. No other school except the Catholic one was kept on the reserve. Sub-agent Cooper's report dated in the fall of 1840 has the following: "Schools there are none here under the authority of the government. There are two Roman Catholic priests residing within my agency, of good moral character, who set a good example to the Indians and half-breeds. They have a chapel, and school and teacher, and have several young Indians in the school, who are coming on pretty well." (Senate Document, 26th Congress, 2nd Session, vol. 1, page 397). A letter of Cooper's to Joshua Pilcher, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, complaining that he was unable to secure any boys from his agency for the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, as he had been requested by the Indian Department to do, brings out the fact that Potawatomi parents were averse to patronizing any but Catholic schools. "I then urged strongly the cause of objecting, but was not able to draw it from them. I feel it my duty to give, in my opinion, the cause of the opposition I have met with in the case. It is the undue and unbounded influence of the Catholic religion among the people—they being all Roman Catholics and determined not to patronize anything that is not of that persuasion—I have tried to pick up the boys throughout the country, but have met with an entire failure." Cooper to Pilcher, May 14, 1840. *Letter Books of the St. Louis Superintendency of Indian Affairs* in Library of the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

in a journal of Father De Smet, whose unequivocal testimony on the subject is corroborated by testimonies of like tenor from Father Verreydt and the Indian Agent, Stephen Cooper.²⁸

"May 30. Arrival of the steamer *Wilmington* with provisions. A war of extermination appears preparing around the poor Potawatomes. Fifty large cannons have been landed, ready charged with the most murderous grape shot, each containing thirty gallons of whiskey, brandy, rum or alcohol. The boat was not yet out of sight when the skirmishes commenced. After the fourth, fifth and sixth discharges, the confusion became great and appalling. In all directions, men, women and children were seen tottering and falling; the war-whoop, the merry Indian's song, cries, savage roarings, formed a chorus. Quarrel succeeded quarrel. Blows followed blows. The club, the tomahawk, spears, butcher knives, brandished together in the air. Strange! astonishing! only one man, in this dreadful affray, was drowned in the Missouri, another severely stabbed, and several noses lost. The prominent point, as you well know, the Potawatomes particularly aim at when well corned.

I shuddered at the deed. A squaw offered her little boy four years old to the crew of the boat for a few bottles of whiskey.

I know from good authority that upwards of eighty barrels of whiskey are on the line ready to be brought in at the payment.

No agent here seems to have the power to put the laws in execution.

May 31. Drinking all day. Drunkards by the dozen. Indians are selling horses, blankets, guns, their all to have a lick at the cannon. Four dollars a bottle! Plenty at that price! Detestable traffic.

June 3. A woman with child, mother of four young children, was murdered this morning near the issue-house. Her body presented the most horrible spectacle of savage cruelty; she was literally cut up.

June 4. Burial of the unhappy woman. Among the provisions placed in her grave were several bottles of whiskey. A good idea if all had been buried with her.

June 6. Rumor. Four Iowas, three Potawatomes, one Kickapoo are said to have been killed in drunken frolics.

June 18. Arrival of a sub-agent, Mr. Cowper[Cooper]. His presence seems to keep the whiskey sellers in some awe. 'Don't know what he might or will do.' Secure the liquor in cages. The many murders committed act powerfully upon the minds of the Indians. They begged the agent in council to prevent the poison being brought among them.

Aug. 8. Arrival of the St. Peter's with the annuities.

Aug. 19. Annuities \$90,000. Divided to the Indians. Great gala. Wonderful scrapings of traders to obtain Indian credits.

Aug. 20. Since the day of payment, drunkards are seen and heard in all places. Liquor is rolled out to the Indians by whole barrels; sold by white men even in the presence of the agent. Wagon loads of the

²⁸ "The civilization of these tribes has made but little progress within the last year. There is neither farmer nor school-tacher employed by the Government in this agency, and but one blacksmith and his assistant a half-breed. They cannot supply near all the wants of the Indians, and their shop and buildings are in bad condition, the Government having furnished no means for the erection of these buildings.

The principal reason of these people not progressing farther in civilization is *ardent spirits*, which are kept along the line of the state of Missouri, and conveyed into the Indian country by the half-breeds.

The whiskey trade has increased double this season and cannot be prevented by your Indian agents, unless they can have aid from the Government. The Indians will sell anything for liquor; not infrequently bartering off his horses, guns and blankets for whiskey. This practice is increasing rapidly, and the ruin of the nation is certain unless a stop can be put to the introduction of spirituous liquors." Report of Peter Cooper, Oct. 2, 1841. For Father Verreydt's testimony on this subject, see *infra*, p.

abominable stuff arrive daily from the settlements, and along with it the very dregs of our white neighbors and voyageurs of the mountains, drunkards, gamblers, etc., etc. Three horses have been brought to the ground and killed with axes. Two more noses were bitten off and a score of other horrible mutilations have taken place. Two women are dangerously ill of bad usage."²⁹

In a letter written in July, 1839, to a Carmelite nun, Superior of the Orphanage in Termonde, Belgium, Father De Smet's native town, the missionary recurs to the topic of the Indian's fatal weakness for liquor.

"Our congregation already amounts to about 300. At Easter we had fifty candidates for the first communion. I recommend, in a very special manner, these poor Indians, that they maintain their fervor. The dangers and scandals which surround them are very great. I have remarked in one of my preceding letters that one of the principal obstacles to the conversion of the savages is drinking. The last boat brought them a quantity of liquors. Already fourteen among them are cut to pieces in the most barbarous manner, and are dead. A father seized his own child by the legs and crushed it, in the presence of its mother, by dashing it against the post of his lodge. Two others most cruelly murdered an Indian woman, a neighbor of ours, and mother of four children. We live in the midst of the most disgusting scenes.

The passion of the savages for strong drink is inconceivable. They give horses, blankets, all, in a word, to have a little of this brutalizing liquid. Their drunkenness only ceases when they have nothing more to drink. Some of our neophytes have not been able to resist this terrible torrent, and have allowed themselves to be drawn into it. I wrote an energetic letter to the Government against these abominable traffickers. Join your prayers to our efforts to obtain from Heaven the cessation of this frightful commerce, which is the misery of the savages in every relation."³⁰

In the same letter from which the preceding extract is cited Father De Smet tells graphically of the sinking of a steamer within sight of Council Bluffs with considerable supplies on board for the missionaries and the Indians.

"First, I will narrate to you the great loss that we experienced towards the end of April. Our Superior sent us from St. Louis, goods to the amount of \$500, in ornaments for the church, a tabernacle, a bell, and provisions and clothes for a year. I had been for a long time without shoes, and from Easter we were destitute of supplies. All the Potawatomi nation were suffering from scarcity, having only acorns and a few wild roots for their whole stock of food. At last, about the 20th of April, they announced to us that the much-desired boat was approaching. Already we saw it from the highest of our hills. I procured, without delay, two carts to go for baggage. I reached there in time to witness a very sad sight. The vessel had struck on a sawyer, was pierced, and rapidly sinking in the waves. The confusion that reigned in the boat was great, but happily no lives were lost. The total damage was valued at \$40,000. All the provisions forwarded by Government to the savages were on board of her. Of our effects four articles were saved; a plough, a saw, a pair of boots and some wine. Providence was still favorable to us. With the help of the plough, we were enabled to plant a large field of corn; it was the season for furrowing. We are using the saw to build a better house and enlarge our church, already

²⁹ From a letter to a "most dear friend" dated Potawatomi Nation, Council Bluffs, December 1839. Text in Richardson's and Chittenden's *De Smet*, I: 171.

³⁰ Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, I; 184.

too small. With my boots I can walk in the woods and prairies without fear of being bitten by the serpents which throng there. And the wine permits us to offer to God every day the holy sacrifice of the Mass, a privilege that had been denied us during a long time. We therefore returned with courage and resignation to the acorns and roots until the 30th of May. That day another boat arrived. By that same steamer, I received news from you, as well as a letter from my family and from the good Carmelite superior."³¹

On April 29 Father De Smet took passage on the *St. Peter's*, a steam-boat of the American Fur Company, then making its annual trip to the Yellowstone to carry supplies to the Indians and bring down their furs in return. He had planned to visit the Yankton Sioux in their village some 360 miles above Council Bluffs, in order to do a little missionary work among the tribe and attempt to establish relations of amity and peace between the latter and the Potawatomi, who ever since their arrival at Council Bluffs had lived in mortal dread of their bellicose neighbors to the North. To his great delight Father De Smet found on board the boat an old acquaintance, the mathematician and scientist, Jean Nicolas Nicollet, whom the reader will recall as the gentleman who lent his services to Father Verhaegen on the occasion of the latter's visit to Washington to secure Government approval and aid for the Council Bluffs Mission.³² M. Nicollet was then on a scientific excursion to the region of the Upper Missouri, following a trip of scientific exploration and research, which he had made the preceding year to the sources of the Mississippi with great success. Accompanying him were Lieutenant Fremont, the future "Pathfinder," and Charles A. Geyer, a German naturalist of considerable distinction in the scientific world. Father De Smet had a very high regard for the ability and scholarly attainments of Nicollet, but not more than the facts seemed to warrant. "His work will be a treasure for the literary world. He is a very deeply learned man and a liberal Catholic at the same time, who examines his subject on the spot and spares neither time nor pains nor his purse to go to the bottom of the matter he writes upon. He made a present of several instruments, thermometers, barometers, compass, etc., to take observations during the summer, to aid those he was making in the upper country."³³

³¹ *Id.* I; 184. Richardson and Chittenden conjecture that the wrecked steamer was the annual boat of the American Fur Company to the mouth of the Yellowstone. Though its name cannot be identified from the list of Steamboat wrecks on the Missouri River in the *Annual Report of the Missouri River Commission for 1897*, it was very probably the *Pirate* reported by the *St. Louis Republican* under date of May 6, 1839, as having been snagged and lost seven miles below Council Bluffs. It would appear that the boat was subsequently raised.

³² Cf. note 21.

³³ In a "Report intended to illustrate a map of the Hydrographic Basin of Upper Mississippi River, made by J. N. Nicollet while in employ under the Bureau of the Corps Topographical Engineers" (Senate Document No. 237, 26th Congress, 2nd session), Nicollet testifies to the accuracy of the barometric observations taken by Father De Smet at Council Bluffs. "The station at Camp Kearney, Council Bluffs, was occupied by the venerable missionaries, Rev. Messrs. De Smet and Verreydt. I furnished them with a barometer, well compared with that of Dr. Engelman at St. Louis, and my own and delivered it at their missionary-station in good condition. Mr. De Smet, with whom I had passed some days of travel on the Missouri, soon made himself acquainted with the manner of taking observations; and proved it, in furnishing me with a four-month series, made with a care that the most scrupulous examination could only confirm and embracing the period between the 17th of May and 17th of September, 1839, an interval during which I was exploring the Northwest."

Having in the course of the voyage instructed and baptized on board the steamer a woman and her three children and heard the confessions of a number of voyageurs bound for the Rocky Mountains, Father De Smet arrived May 11 at the Yankton village. Here he met the Yankton chiefs and warriors in council and was hospitably entertained by them at a feast, at which he took occasion to discuss with them the principal object of his visit, the establishment of a durable peace between them and his spiritual children, the Potawatomi. His efforts met with success. He persuaded the Sioux to make presents to the children of the Potawatomi warriors they had killed and to agree to visit the Potawatomi and smoke with them the calumet of peace. In the evening of the same day on which the council was held he explained the Apostle's Creed to the Indians and baptized a great number of their children. His mission thus accomplished, he seized the first opportunity of returning to Council Bluffs, making the downstream voyage in the only craft he found available, a dugout, or hollowed-out log, ten feet long by one and a half wide. Guided by two skilful pilots, and travelling from four o'clock in the morning to sunset, the frail bark covered the 360 miles to Council Bluffs in three days.³⁴

From the baptismal and marriage registers of St. Joseph's Mission we are able to gather data concerning the ministry of the Fathers during the three years that the Mission was maintained. The baptisms during this period numbered 308. The first recorded is that of Catherine Bourbonne[t], a Potawatomi, on June 9, 1838. She is the first person whose baptism at Council Bluffs is attested by documentary evidence. All baptismal entries up to February 8, 1840, are in Father De Smet's handwriting. Caldwell, the principal business chief of the nation, was god-father to John Naakeze, baptized December 29, 1838, at the age approximately of 102. The last baptism in the mission register is in Father Eysvogel's hand and bears date July 17, 1841.³⁵

The first entries in the marriage register are dated August 15, 1838. On that day Father De Smet joined in Christian wedlock Pierre Chevalier and Kwi-wa-te-no-lue, and Louis Wilmot [Ouilmette] and Maria Wa-wiet-wo-kue.³⁶ As may be readily surmised, these are the earliest certified marriages in the annals of Council Bluffs. The marriage ceremonies performed by Father De Smet at the Mission numbered 20 in all, the last being dated January 5, 1840. After a stay of several months at the Novitiate whither he had returned from his Indians, broken down in health, Father Christian Hoecken, the founder in 1838 of the Catholic Mission among the Osage River Potawatomi,

³⁴ Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*. 1: 190.

³⁵ The Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the Council Bluffs Mission are in the Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas. While stationed at Council Bluffs, Father De Smet baptized the Omaha chief Logan Fontanelle, then a child, and his mother, daughter of the Omaha chief, Big Elk. Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 4: 1532.

³⁶ Louis Wilmot (Ouilmette) discharged for a while the duties of government interpreter for the Council Bluff sub-agency. His relative, Antoine Ouilmette, whose name is perpetuated in the Chicago suburb of Wilmette has been reputed Chicago's earliest white settler, having settled there according to his own account in 1790.

was attached to St. Joseph's Mission in the summer of 1840. Four marriages are credited to him in the marriage register of the Mission, the earliest dated August 6, 1840 and the last January 28, 1841.

In the summer of 1839 there arrived at Council Bluffs two young Flathead braves, who were making the long journey from their homeland west of the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis for the purpose of securing Catholic missionaries for their tribe. The zeal of Father De Smet was at once aroused and, disappointed as he was over conditions in the Potawatomi reserve and the prospects of future missionary labor in that quarter, he eagerly offered himself to answer the signal of spiritual distress that came at this opportune moment from the remote Northwest. Father Verhaegen, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial in St. Louis, having determined to ascertain first what were the prospects held out by the new missionary field thus opened up to his Order, dismissed the Flathead delegates with a promise that a missionary would be deputed to their tribe on a prospecting trip early in the coming spring. Father De Smet was commissioned to undertake this trip, arriving in St. Louis from Council Bluffs the last day of February, 1840. His status as resident missionary at Council Bluffs thus came to an end and he entered upon that period of intensive missionary effort on behalf of the Oregon Indians with which his career is most closely identified. Father De Smet left Westport at the mouth of the Kansas for the Rocky Mountains in April, 1840, discharged satisfactorily the purpose of his visit to the Flatheads, whom he found eagerly awaiting the advent of Catholic missionaries, and returned home by the Missouri River, making a stop in November at Council Bluffs where he found that during his absence conditions had taken on a more discouraging aspect than ever.

"The very night of our arrival among our Fathers at Council Bluffs, the river closed. It would be in vain for me to attempt to tell what I felt at finding myself once more amidst our brothers, after having travelled 2,000 Flemish leagues, in the midst of the greatest dangers and across the territories of the most barbarous nations. I had, however, the grief of observing the ravages which unprincipled men, liquor-sellers, had caused in this budding mission. Drunkenness, with the invasion of the Sioux on the other hand, had finally dispersed my poor savages. While awaiting a more favorable turn of events, the good Fathers Verreydt and [Christian] Hoecken busy themselves with the cares of their holy ministry among some fifty families that have had the courage to resist these two enemies. I discharged my commission to them from the Sioux, and I venture to hope that in future there will be quiet in that quarter."⁸⁷

In the summer of 1841 the situation at Council Bluffs from the view-point of missionary endeavor continued to be distinctly discouraging. Writing in July to Father Van Assche at Florissant, Father Verreydt dwells on the conditions which were to result in a few weeks in the definite abandonment of the mission.

"Our people here like us very much; but they do not want to listen to our good counsel. Getting drunk is the only fault they have; otherwise, we would live here in a Paradise. But now, in the condition

they are, it is indeed very disagreeable to live among them. As you are at home in the charming business, could your Reverence not give me a means to make fellows here sober men and sober women; for women, as well as men, get tipsy whenever they have a chance. Oh, my friend, it looks very bad to see these poor creatures often like hogs wallowing in the mud. I think you have done very well not to have come out to these frontier places, where almost everybody is trying to delude and impose upon these poor creatures. Liquor is brought in here with whole cargoes, which reduces our Indians to extreme poverty, which is, as you know, the mother of all vice. Such is our position here. You may of course pray hard for us all. We cannot help it; patience will not cure the evil, I fear."³⁸

The United Nation or the Prairie Potawatomi had thus signally disappointed the hopes once entertained of their advancement in the ways of upright and Christian living. On the other hand, their kinsmen of Sugar Creek, the Potawatomi of Indiana or the Forest Potawatomi, were steadily advancing to the condition of an orderly and edifying Christian community. The conclusion was accordingly reached to abandon Council Bluffs as a center of resident missionary endeavor and transfer the Fathers stationed there to Sugar Creek. In pursuance of instructions received from St. Louis, Fathers Verreydt and Christian Hoecken, together with Brothers Mazzela and Miles bade farewell to Council Bluffs in August, 1841 and journeyed to Sugar Creek, which they reached on the 29th of that month. Thenceforth the Iowa Potawatomi were without spiritual aid except for an occasional visit of Father Christian Hoecken from Sugar Creek. In April 1842, the latter administered four baptisms at Council Bluffs. In November 1844, he administered twenty more at the same post, all to Indians or half-breeds. In May, 1846, he was again with the United Nation, baptizing on this occasion thirty-eight infants and a dying squaw. This was apparently the last visit of a Catholic priest to Council Bluffs before the closing of the Potawatomi reserve.³⁹ Two years later the Indians were removed to their new lands on the Kansas River assigned them under the treaty of 1846, where they were united with the Sugar Creek division of the tribe and came again under the spiritual care of Jesuit missionaries.⁴⁰

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S.J.

³⁸ Verreydt to Van Assche, July 2, 1841.

³⁹ *Liber Baptismorum*, 1838—1850 (Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas). Richard Smith Elliott, Indian Agent at Council Bluffs, in his *Notes Taken in Sixty Years*, p. 180, records his having "solemnized the first civil marriage in all Southwest Iowa." The parties to the marriage were the half-breed Joseph LaFramboise, United States interpreter for the agency, and a Miss Labarg[e]. "The Priest [Father Hoecken] had made his annual trip in May and about ten months would elapse before he would come again."

⁴⁰ According to Babbitt, *Early Days in Council Bluffs*, 57, the Catholic mission-property at the time application was made for the entry of the town-site of Council Bluffs became the subject of a controversy between Mrs. S. T. Carey and the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities. The evidence adduced in the long-drawn out controversy before the Indian Office and the Land Department is on record in the files of the Indian Office (Case No. 139. Potawatomi file, No. 40-L). Father De Smet, when questioned on the subject in 1867 could give no definite information. "All I could learn on the subject is: Several years after the last missionary among the Potawatomes left that location, he was applied to by the Catholic Bishop of Dubuque and ceded to him all the right to the Mission-claim." Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 4: 1534.

LIFE STORY OF ALEXANDER BELLESIME

A HERO OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Dear to the heart of every American is the career of a man who has figured prominently in the affairs of this great nation, but dearer still is the life of one whose noble deeds in behalf of our country were unexcelled, and who yet remains hidden by his close association with great personages. The life story of Alexander Bellesime, a friend of the Marquis de Lafayette, his companion and aide-de-camp during the American Revolution, is an instance where the heroism of the private is overshadowed by the military achievements of his superior officer.

Our hero was born, August 9, 1756, in the vicinity of Bordeaux. His father, Jean Bellesime, was a wealthy landlord, his vineyard being one of the most extensive in this section of France. Admiral Bellesime of the French Fleet was his uncle and the young Alexander imbibed much of his patriotism through association with this uncle, whom the boy took as a model. When the war for American Independence began, Bellesime was on board a French man-of-war. His love of liberty and justice could not but reach out to the struggling colonies in the distant West and on learning that a vessel was being fitted out by the Marquis de Lafayette, he immediately offered his services. From their first meeting, Lafayette and Bellesime became friends. Both were young, neither had completed his twentieth year. Their college days had not been spent together but their educational developments were similar. Bellesime attended the military college at Paris and his attainments were equal to his opportunities. He became proficient in six foreign languages, his favorite among these being the Italian. Much of the friendly intercourse between Bellesime and Lafayette was carried on in this tongue. The same spirit that animated the Marquis de Lafayette towards the struggling colonies also aroused the sympathy of Bellesime. They were eager to draw their swords in behalf of freedom. They considered it the happiest moment of their lives when they were ready to serve her.

It was on April 24, 1777, that Lafayette's vessel, the "Victory", came in sight of the American shore. The voyage had been dangerous and stormy. When nearing the harbor at Georgetown, South Carolina, they were attacked by a British cruiser. A fight ensued and in the melee Lafayette was thrown into the sea. But Bellesime

had seen the accident, and to jump after his friend to rescue him was the work of a moment. This incident was the beginning of a series of heroic actions that testify to his unselfish character, his quick bravery, and, his sincere love for "His General." The English cruiser was overcome and the French vessel, bearing the Marquis and his companions, landed safely at Georgetown, South Carolina. At first they were taken for a party of the enemy, but when their identity had been established, that they were volunteers to the American cause, they were received with great joy and enthusiasm. The hopes of the disheartened people of Georgetown were revived and new life was infused in the American patriots. In order to procure horses and carriages the victorious party sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, whence they proceeded by land to Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session. The Marquis, in the name of his volunteer companions, among whom was the German veteran, Baron de Kalb and a French Major, Gamet, who was also an aide-de-camp of Lafayette, offered their services to the United Colonies. After some hesitation Congress accepted these brave men. The first engagement of Lafayette and his two aides was at the Battle of Brandywine. Lafayette showed such skill and courage in this battle that his name became famous. The British determined to capture "the boy" as they called him, and left nothing undone to carry out their plan. It was after this first battle and while directing a body of Americans with whom Washington had charged him, that the hero of this story again saves the life of Lafayette. A British Officer detecting the Marquis had succeeded in getting behind him, and with drawn sword was ready to strike the fatal blow. In an instant, Bellesime was at his side. He threw the sword from the murderous hand and amid firing of bullets unsaddled the English officer and again saved the life of his friend. This was the second testimony of devoted love given by this aide-de-camp, a love that ever existed.

At the close of the campaign of 1778, Lafayette deemed it his duty to return to France to place himself at the disposal of his government, and to exert himself in behalf of America by his personal conference with the French ministry. He wanted Bellesime to accompany him, but our hero, out of sympathy for the struggling nation, gave this characteristic answer: "You, my dear Marquis, can do much for America while in France, I could do nothing, then let me remain where I may give to America all that is mine to give, my life." In Lafayette's absence, Bellesime served for a short time in General Sullivan's regiment, but when Rochambeau came to the aid of the colonies he was made sergeant, a position he held until his return to Lafayette's service. This favor he asked, and after some hesitation Washington gave the desired permission. So it happened that Lafayette and Bellesime were again together at the siege of Yorktown.

After a long and skillful campaign in Virginia, the army succeeded in tiring out Cornwallis, who at last took up a position at Yorktown, where he expected to receive supplies and fresh troops.

Lafayette saw what might be done if timely aid could be obtained, for he knew that a French fleet was on its way to America, and if it were possible to have it enter Chesapeake Bay, Cornwallis would be cut off by sea, and by the maneuvering of the American Army, Lafayette could prevent a retreat through the Carolinas should they attempt to do this. After giving an account of these conditions to Washington, Lafayette with great skill held Cornwallis in at Yorktown. Rochambeau arrived with re-enforcements and Washington came from Philadelphia with his army. Without further hesitation the siege began. Lafayette charged the breastworks. It was in this final action that our hero gave the last testimony of love and affection to his revered Marquis. While encouraging his troops, Lafayette's charger was struck by a cannon ball; horse and rider fell to the ground, Bellesime, with his usual alertness was at his General's side. He raised the Marquis and assisted him to mount his own horse. In this action Bellesime received several wounds which were supposed to be mortal. He was carried from the field and hastened to the camp where relief could be given to the sufferer.

This battle ended the war for Independence, and Lafayette ordered his sick and wounded to be gathered on board a French vessel that they might be quickly transported home where necessary care and treatment could be given them. To an old French surgeon he gave orders that his "brave aide-de-camp," as he always called Bellesime, should have every attention and comfort, for he had been more than a friend to him. In case of death he ordered that a decent burial be given him. According to a letter written by Bellesime, he states, "the doctor worried with me for a while." The vessel landed at New Orleans for medical supplies, the doctor thought it best to leave the wounded hero here for he had little hope that the sufferer could live to see the French shore. Another physician was given charge, and the vessel set sail for France with the other wounded soldiers, leaving Bellesime at New Orleans, which was close to the newly liberated colonies. The report made by the surgeon on arriving home was that Bellesime, Lafayette's friend, had died. Sorrow filled the heart of the Marquis at this news for he loved this self-sacrificing companion as a brother.

But death did not call the hero, on the contrary, his condition improved and he finally settled in St. Louis, then a growing town of the Louisiana Territory. He married an orphan girl, Mary Waters, whose parents had been killed by the Indians. She was of English descent and was born in Detroit. A French merchant, Provenchere, adopted and educated her. Few families were as happy as that of Bellesime. Twelve children graced the home and it was a favorite rendezvous for the elite of St. Louis, and for ladies and gentlemen of rank, living in New Orleans. Hospitality was a characteristic of the Bellesime home where everybody came with joy, the visit being saddened only by the thought of having to leave.

From the Rocky Mountains to Santa Fe, from Detroit to New Orleans, Bellesime was known. His nickname, "Old Eleckson", was

familiar to all. He was the first to establish a tavern and wagon-yard in St. Louis. This accomodation for farmers and voyagers was erected on Spruce and Myrtle Streets. Farmers, mountaineers, and boatmen loved and venerated him for his defence of liberty and justice. His strong personality, happy disposition and true Christian sentiments endeared him to all with whom he became acquainted. He had a tender love for music, and his old French flute often lulled his little ones to sleep. It was his delight to relate to his children, stories of his friendship with the Marquis de Lafayette, how after some hard-fought battle or a long march, they would seek a shade in Liberty's forest and there pipe some sweet French melody, a melody of home, that it might be borne across the great blue sea to those dear and loved ones there.

Few knew this dear old hero's history, and not until 1824 did his real identity reveal itself. The Marquis de Lafayette had arrived in the United States on a national visit. From his first landing the hearts of the Missourians were elated with the hope that the Great General would gratify them by visiting their state, then the most distant and the youngest member of the Union. They forwarded a message, a kind and pressing invitation to General Lafayette to pay St. Louis a visit. Lafayette's answer filled them with delight as he declared that it would be his happiness to visit his former countrymen and the land once owned by his loved France, but now the home of his dearest friends. Many days were spent in preparation, and at last the time had arrived when they could honor him who was more than a French General of the American Revolution. The sleepless night passed and when the happy day dawned more than half the population of St. Louis was about the steamboat landing, eager to catch the first glimpse of the boat that would bring them their venerated guest. After long hours of anxious waiting the vessel bearing the Marquis was seen. It glided close to the Illinois shore until opposite the sandbar on Duncan Island when the prow slightly turned toward the standing throng. What stillness! What rebounding heart throbs were concealed lest a sound should break the solemnity of the silence! There was one old heart which was beating faster, one fond love which was stronger, and one dear soul more eager to clasp "His General" to his heart than that vast multitude could tell, and that one was Bellesime, our hero.

The boat began to slacken speed for landing, Lafayette walked to the railing and waved the Stars and Stripes, while a shout such as the hills of St. Louis had never echoed before rose from the once silent throng and continued until the boat reached the bank. A committee escorted the Marquis to the carriage prepared to convey him to the Chouteau mansion on Market Street.

The honored guest could not recognize individuals in that vast multitude nor was he expecting a meeting with one of his Victory companions. Bellesime's tear-dimmed eyes gazed on in silence and a whisper echoed "Forgotten." Could this be possible? And then with a resolution animated by the hopes of clasping his dear Marquis

again to his heart, he resolved to tell the committee who he was. He approached Captain Miles and revealed his identity. The Captain informed Lafayette that an old gentleman, Bellesime by name, lived in the city and claimed to have been his companion on the Victory. For some time Lafayette thought, then he said it could not be possible, it must be an imposter, for his loved Bellesime had died in New Orleans in 1781. However he told the committee to bring the old man to him, he would gladly receive him. A messenger hastened to Bellesime and told him what Lafayette had said. "Well," said Bellesime, "if Lafayette believes me to be an impostor, I will not go, I owe nothing to the Marquis de Lafayette." A second messenger was sent to insist upon the old man's coming and though his proud heart was pricked to the very core, he finally yielded to the entreaty and allowed the messenger to escort him to the reception. Bellesime requested that he might be introduced to Lafayette as a stranger. Mayor Lane brought in the old man and made the formal introduction. Lafayette and Bellesime shook hands. Lafayette stepped back, then the old gentleman spoke. "General, have you forgotten the combat with the British cruiser on the coast of Carolina?" Before Bellesime could utter another word Lafayette threw his arms around his companion and with entreaties begged him to forgive his incredulity. The scene was pathetic. The audience gazed on in silence, fearing a cheer would be a choked sob. The two heroes conversed together for some minutes in Italian. The Marquis invited Bellesime to accompany him in reviewing the cavalry troops which were drawn up in line to honor the visiting hero. Proudly did old Bellesime take his place beside his loved Marquis. After the survey of this splendid demonstration of military training, a banquet was served. It had been prepared by the members of the Masonic Lodge, of which association Lafayette was then a member. Bellesime was eagerly pressed to accept an invitation to be present at this reunion, but being a devout Catholic, he declined. Lafayette would not allow insistence, for he well knew the love of Faith that ever existed in his companion. But before departing, a short private interview was held between the two. Lafayette begged his old friend to accompany him back to France. His father's estate was without an heir and this great fortune would be his if a personal claim were made. Bellesime thought of his motherless children, some were young, and, reflecting on their need, he told the Marquis that his care for these children would be a greater inheritance than his father's estate. The Marquis asked Bellesime to accompany him to Washington where he could establish his claim with the government for services in the army. The generous lover of Liberty again refused, saying, "I gave my services to Liberty, I desire no recompense."

This hero, forgotten by all, died August 13, 1833. For three days his remains lay in state. The people of St. Louis and surrounding country were notified by a proclamation from the Governor of Missouri calling them to the burial of the friend of Liberty

and a companion of the Marquis de Lafayette. He was buried with military honors from the St. Louis Cathedral. The Grays accompanied the remains to the old North Cemetery, where all paid their last respects to the dear old hero of the American Revolution. True to his God, faithful to his adopted country, Bellesime there awaits the final call of Him who does not Forget.

A SISTER OF ST. JOSEPH
of Carondelet.



AN APPEAL

HISTORICAL MATTER DESIRED

by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis



Books and pamphlets on American History and Biography, particularly those relating to Church institutions, ecclesiastical persons and Catholic lay people within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase;

Old newspapers; Catholic modern papers; Parish papers, whether old or recent:

We will highly appreciate the courtesy of the Reverend Pastors who send us regularly their Parish publications;

Manuscripts; narratives of early Catholic settlers or relating to early Catholic settlements; letters:

In the case of family papers which the actual owners wish to keep in their possession, we shall be grateful for the privilege of taking copies of these papers;

Engravings, portraits, Medals. etc;

In a word, every object whatsoever which, by the most liberal construction, may be regarded as an aid to, or illustration of the history of the Catholic Church in the Middle West.

Contributions will be credited to the donors and preserved in the Library or Archives of the Society, for the use and benefit of the members and other duly authorized persons.

Communications may be addressed either to the Secretary, or to the Librarians of the

Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis,

209 Walnut Street, St. Louis, Mo.

NOTES



CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS

Secretary's Report for 1920-1921

At the last Annual Meeting of the St. Louis Historical Society all the old officers were elected for another term, with the exception of the Secretary and the Treasurer, to which offices Rev. Edward H. Amsinger and Mr. Edward Brown were respectively elected. Owing to ill-health and pressing business causing their absence from the city some of the officers were not able to attend all the meetings of the Society and the Executive Committee, but still they discharged their duties very faithfully and gave sufficient notice ahead of time, when they foresaw that they would be prevented from being present. The attendance of the membership at large at the regular meetings was not nearly so large as we feel it should have been. An average of about ten persons attended each meeting. On a few occasions a few more were present. Still some progress was made. The membership grew very considerably in numbers and our collections have been enriched by quite a few donations, the Library Committee reporting additions at every meeting. At the September meeting Father Rothensteiner read a very interesting and instructive paper on "The Old St. Louis Calvary and Cross." At the November meeting a highly interesting and very timely paper by Rev. Paul C. Schulte of the Old Cathedral about the first St. Vincent de Paul Conference founded in the United States and entitled: "The Old Cathedral Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society," was read by Fr. Rothensteiner. At the January meeting Fr. Rothensteiner read some extracts from the correspondence of Rev. Hilary Tucker, which furnished some very interesting information about this zealous priest's ministry in and around Quincy, Illinois, about 100 years ago. At the March meeting, which, however, was postponed till April 6, on account of Holy Week, Fr. Brennan gave an informal talk on "the History of the Earth as written by itself," treating the different strata of the earth's crust as so many historical records of its formation.

Unfortunately, the publication of the Society's periodical, *The St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, was delayed several times, which, as last year, may be attributed, at least in part, to the still unsettled conditions of the times. It is the purpose of the Catholic Historical Society to treat of the religious and social influences, that have

gone out from St. Louis as a center from the days of the earliest discoveries to the present time, which will soon belong to the past and as such be history also. The Society therefore should make a strong appeal to the interest and support of the educated classes in St. Louis, Missouri and the surrounding country. If more lively interest in the great historical past of our city and state could be aroused and better financial support secured, the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis would no doubt attain the object of its existence more effectively and do monumental work in the historical field.

EDWARD H. AMSINGER,
Secretary.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Year Ending May 16, 1921.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Disbursements.</i>	
Balance on hand May 1, 1920...	\$ 98.75	Printing "Review"	\$ 797.31
Membership Dues	435.00	Binding Vol. I.....	115.00
Proceeds Sale Vol. I.....	168.00	Ptg. Leaflets	20.75
Advertising	65.00	Miss. Val. Assn.	4.00
Subscriptions for "Review".....	159.00	Stamped Envelopes	22.26
"Review" Copies sold	18.62	Printing Cards	5.50
Donations	115.00	Exc. on Remittances	1.55
	<hr/>	By Balance	93.00
	\$1,059.37		<hr/>
			\$1,059.37

To Balance on hand May 16th, 1921.....\$93.00

EDWARD BROWN,
Treasurer.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

The Committee on Library and Publications begs to report the following additions made to our collections.

I *Archives*

Since the last report published in the July-October Number of the REVIEW, we have been able to procure the following documents:

- Badin, Stephen Theodore, Letter to the Card. Prefect of Propaganda, Rome, November 10, 1826.
- Du Bourg, Bishop, To Card. Prefect of Propaganda, St. Louis, April 20, 1820.
- _____ To Card. Fontana, Pref. of Prop., February 24, 1821 (completed).
- _____ To same, May 8, 1821 (completed).
- _____ To same, February 8, 1822 (completed).
- _____ To same, St. Louis, October 1, 1822
- _____ To same, Baltimore, December 6, 1822.
- _____ To his brother Louis (Bordeaux), Washington, January 24, 1823.
- _____ To same, Washington, February 6, 1823.
- _____ To Rev. Philip Borgna, C.M., Washington, February 27, 1823.
- _____ To the Card. Pref. of Prop., Baltimore, March 29, 1823 (completed).
- _____ To Archbishop Caprano, Secretary of Propaganda, New Orleans, January 29, 1825.
- _____ To same, New Orleans, July 26, 1825.
- _____ To the Bishops of the United States, Natchitoches, La., October 4, 1825.
- _____ To Card. della Somaglia, Prefect of Propaganda, Natchitoches, October 6, 1825.

- To Archbishop Caprano, New Orleans, January 26, 1826.
- To same, New Orleans, January 30, 1826.
- To same, New Orleans, February 17, 1826 (resignation).
- To same, New Orleans, February 27, 1826.
- To same, New Orleans, March 10, 1826.
- To same, Havre (France), July 3, 1826.
- To the Cardinal Nuncio of the Holy See in France, Paris, November 15, 1826.
- To the Card. Prefect of Prop. Montauban, May 1, 1827.
- To Card. Cappellari, Prefect of Propaganda, Montauban, September 18, 1829.
- Maréchal, Ambrose, Archbishop, To the Card. Prefect of Propaganda, Baltimore, August 25, 1825.
- Martial, Auguste, Rev., To Billand (Rome), July 13—August, 1822 (very important for the description of religious condition in New Orleans)
- To same, New Orleans, October 1—20—November 2, 1822.
- To same, New Orleans, December 3, 1822.
- Rosati Joseph, Rev., To Father Baccari, V. G. of the Cong. of the Mission, Rome, St. Genevieve, May 6, 1823.

Besides these documents procured from the Archives of Propaganda, an Anonymous Donor sent from Arcadia—the postmark and the nature of the documents sent do not permit our thanks to go astray if we address them to Father Wernert—on January 29, 1921, the Permit issued by the Health Department of St. Louis for the transfer and burial of the body of Rev. Francis Schreiber, deceased, at the Ursuline Convent at Arcadia on June 20, 1905, and buried in the Priests' Lot in Calvary Cemetery.

It may be in order to mark here that still other documents are daily expected from Rome. Among them are a number of Letters of Father De Andreis which, so far as is known, were heretofore considered lost and could not be used by his historian. A copy of these letters is extant in a somewhat unexpected place—the old Jesuit Fund of the *Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele*.

The archivists are glad to state that, whilst the collection of the Letters of Bishop Du Bourg at the Chancery was, three years ago, reported to contain "146 letters and documents," this collection, by means of copies obtained from various sources, amounts now to 212 numbers. It may be estimated that further research will enable the collection to reach the total of about 250 numbers. But the documents yet to be procured will, in all likelihood, add little in the way of new historical information. Indeed we make bold to say that the historical importance of the topics treated in our recent additions to this fund is such, that it affords any willing worker the possibility of treating with all desirable completeness the history of the American Episcopate of that prelate—that is much more than what should logically form Part II of a History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.—It is perhaps also worthy of notice that of all these documents a typewritten copy has been taken, which will dispense workers from handling the now centenarian originals, and preserve these originals from the wear and tear inseparable from frequent perusal.

II

Library

The last report of additions to our Library is printed in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 4, October 1920. Since that time most of the increase of our Library has been in the way of exchanges with the publications of various Historical Societies. We thus get regularly the following:

Acta et Dicta, published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.

The Catholic Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

The Fortnightly Review, St. Louis, Mo.

Historical Records and Studies, published by the United States Catholic Historical Society, New York.

Illinois Catholic Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, publ. quarterly by the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.

Louisiana Historical Quarterly, published by the Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, La.

Michigan History Magazine, published quarterly by the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Mich.

Minnesota History Bulletin, published quarterly by the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.

The Missouri Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Neb.

Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, publ. quarterly by the Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, publ. by the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History, published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Menasha, Wis.

The Hispanic American Historical Review, published quarterly, Baltimore, Md.

The Michigan Historical Commission have not only sent us the Magazine they issue, but also two volumes published by them: 1. *The Michigan Fur Trade*, by Ida Amanda Johnson, Lansing 1919, to which is annexed *The Pere Marquette Railroad Company—An Historical Study of the growth and development of one of Michigan's most important Railway Systems*, by Paul Wesley Ivey, Ph.D., Lansing, 1919. 2. *Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason, the Boy Governor of Michigan*, by Lawton T. Hemans. Lansing, 1920. Among the accessions are not mentioned works sent for review, which, according to a fair custom, remain the property of the reviewer.

III

Our Review

A third part is expected to this Report, dealing with the Society's publication, the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*. All here present may easily follow its progress, and conclude for themselves that like

all things mundane, it has its ups and downs, even, it would seem at times from the irregularity of its appearance, more given to downs than ups. I do not speak here of its financial support: your treasurer has assured us that if it does not coin money, it however succeeds in making both ends meet. My concern presently is merely with the editing of it. Much against our liking we had to unite once more two numbers into one, so that you have at hands a double number. I need not say I firmly hope that this is the last time. But to any one who might, because he does not realize exactly the existing conditions, have been inclined to censoriousness, I may point out the cold fact that the Editor of said Review is of all the members of the Society the one on whom by far the greater and heavier part of the work done in the Society devolves. Contributors—too few, but they are most willing—do their share, to be sure; but his remains the lion's share, and it is of such a nature that very little of it can be conveniently done by anyone else. Now all this, of course, must come out of his spare time, for his duties as a priest, as a community man, and as a professor must come first and are not allowed to be neglected. This I say, and please take, not as an apology, but as an earnest invitation extended to all to help in the work. Our little Review has, I may say without false modesty, won at once a flattering place among similar publications in the appreciation of those who know: we cannot afford to lower its standard of excellence. Nor are we minded to do so. But let me say confidently: The more will be working—there are so many ways to help—the better the chance of doing good work. No fear here that “too many cooks spoil the broth”: if efforts are properly co-ordinated, the finished product will be all the more satisfactory. We need a greater subscription list: many may co-operate; we need more contributors; more workers to share in the editorial labor—information, notes, proof-reading, etc.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C.M.

With this issue ends the series of letters exchanged between Bishop Du Bourg and the Congregation of Propaganda. This series, as our readers have not failed to notice, is incomplete; but as it is, it affords most valuable information both for the history of this Prelate and for that of the Church in these parts. Whilst, of course, efforts will continue to be made to recover the missing numbers, there is every reason to believe that their loss detracts little from our knowledge of the period.

We propose to begin with our next Number, the publication of a document still more important for our history, a copy of which is one of the most precious treasures of our Archives—the *Diary* of Bishop Rosati, so often referred to in the pages of this and other Reviews. Bishop Rosati kept, indeed, two Diaries: the one, which he entitled *Ephemerides Privatae*, by far the more complete; and the

other, where he entered all the official acts of his Episcopal administration. The *Ephemerides Privatae* is the Diary which we intend to publish.

It is contained in three large books, measuring each 12½ by 8 in. Vol. I extends from the time of Rosati's Consecration, March 25, 1824 (it rehearses briefly, though, the story of the negotiations with Rome in regard to his elevation to the Episcopacy, since the arrival of the Brief appointing him to the Vicariate Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama), to June 4, 1829. This volume, unfortunately is incomplete and mutilated, and, no doubt, went originally to July 31, 1831. A space of more than two years, therefore, is now missing.—The second Tome goes from August 1, 1831, to December 31, 1836; and the third, from January 1, 1837 to December 31, 1840. There can be no doubt but, on January 1, 1841, Bishop Rosati must have commenced a fourth volume, and continued it until shortly before his death (September 25, 1843); but so far no trace of this volume has ever been found, and no mention of it is made in the Inventory of the "effects" contained in his room at the time of his death. Of the three tomes extant, the first and third are in the Archives of the Roman Procurator of the Congregation of the Mission in Rome; the first bears on the outside, the name of Felix Rosati, our Bishop's nephew, by whom it was given to the Roman Lazarists. The second volume belongs to the Archives of the Chancery of St. Louis.

In this Diary, the orderly Prelate entered faithfully every day the happenings of that day, even when they belonged to the ordinary routine, like saying Mass, going to Confession, hearing Confessions, letters written and received, Conferencs to the Seminarians, Conferencs to the members of his Congregation, etc. We have, therefore, in these pages an accurate account of all the details of his life and activity: that is why this document is of immeasurable historical value for the period it covers. It may be added that it is invaluable also for the insight it affords us into the mind, heart and character of the good Bishop.

All the entries are made in Latin, as was common enough with the American Bishops of that time, and was quite natural with a man to whom Latin was like a second mother tongue.

Contrary to the practice adopted so far in this REVIEW of giving the original text of the Documents published, we shall print only an English translation of the *Diary*. Notes will accompany and explain or complete the text when necessary. It goes without saying that when the wording of the original is of special importance, it will be given in the Notes.

CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF MISSOURI (THE CENTER STATE) by Walter B. Stevens. St. Louis, The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1921.—These five volumes of imperial octavo, compiled as a memorial of the

centennial of Missouri's statehood which we celebrate this year, we owe to the indefatigable industry of Mr. Walter B. Stevens, who in various publications issued during the last twenty years has made the field of Missouri state history during the American period peculiarly his own. Only the first two volumes of this work are to be described as history in the ordinary acceptation of the term; the last three are entirely taken up with biographical sketches of living Missourians. It is regrettable that this feature, however useful in its way for purposes of reference as a state-wide Who's Who, should bulk so large in a work that is meant to tell on a broader scale than has hitherto been attempted the story of Missouri's greatness. No doubt this is a plan often resorted to as a means of financing elaborate and expensive publications which might otherwise never see the light of day; but it is a plan that we are not accustomed to associate with any noteworthy or valuable contribution to the literature of history. One feels by contrast the greater dignity of the course followed by the Illinois Centennial Commission under which Professors Buck and Alvord brought out their scholarly volumes, the latter's "Illinois Country" being in particular the most readable and definite treatment of the subject since the days when Parkman gave to the world his classic volumes.

Mr. Stevens does not conceive his subject as a dramatic whole, which it is, with beginning, middle and end and with the dramatic elements of progressive incident, suspense and climax. His method is discursive and topical, not consecutive. His book is not a gradually unfolding narrative which one has to read entire before he gets the complete story. It is a succession of more or less isolated, independent chapters dealing with all the varied phases of Missouri life, political, social, education, religious and economic. The method has its advantages, no one will gainsay. Highly interesting topics that enter into the background of Missouri history, such as taverns, trails, tracks, waterways, family life and customs, are dealt with in separate chapters and with a satisfying wealth of detail that cannot fail to engross the reader's attention. What one desiderates is a connected story. No one who wishes to follow the successive steps by which Missouri advanced from the pioneer conditions of a frontier state to the great commonwealth she is to-day will find a guide to his purpose in this elaborate work.

The chapters we turn to with especial interest are those dealing with the religious history of the state. Of these there are only two, Chapters V and XXX. In Chapter V, "Worship in Woods and Cabins," no mention is made of the Catholic Church, the chapter being taken up entirely with the pioneer experiences of the various Protestant denominations. In Chapter XXX the beginnings of organized Catholicity under Bishops Du Bourg and Rosati and its subsequent development down to what is taken to be an historical landmark in the growth of the Church, the laying of the corner-stone of the new St. Louis cathedral, are sketched, but in brief and summary fashion. The account, such as it is, is restricted almost entirely to the history

of the Catholic Church in St. Louis, no information being supplied concerning the organization and growth of the Catholic dioceses of St. Joseph and Kansas City, if we except the few paragraphs on pioneer Catholicity in Kansas City. Mr. Stevens has not, we are confident, willingly begrudged the Catholic Church any of the credit which is justly hers in the upbuilding of our commonwealth; but he has failed none the less to realize the greatness of her historic role in the development of the state with the result that the treatment accorded her in the work now before us cannot but be regarded as inadequate. At the same time numerous cordial tributes to the character and influence of Catholic ecclesiastics make it clear that the deficiencies of Mr. Stevens' work in the aspect under consideration arise from lack of adequate information and not from any prejudice or ill-will against the Catholic Church. The following lines which he writes on Archbishop Kenrick may be cited. "The extraordinary growth of Catholicism in St. Louis, the theological strength of the clergy, the thousands of conversions of residents, not so much from other churches as from the mass of the indifferent, are better understood when the example and precepts of Peter Richard Kenrick are known."

Numerous inaccuracies occur in the narrative, some of which may be pointed out. Father Rosati and his party did not accompany Bishop Du Bourg from Europe, (1:966). The prelate followed them a year later (1817). Moreover, Father De Andreis and not Father Rosati was in charge of the party of ecclesiastics who left Bordeaux in 1816. "St. Louis [in 1825] was a diocese with one bishop, three secular priests, five Lazarist fathers, one Jesuit, fourteen ecclesiastical students, five Jesuit scholastics and from 11,000 to 12,000 laity." As a matter of fact, there was west of the Mississippi in 1825 only one diocese, the undivided diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, with two bishops, Bishop Du Bourg and his coadjutor, Bishop Rosati. Moreover, there were within the limits of that diocese at the period mentioned, besides six Lazarists, two Jesuit priests, Fathers Van Quickenborne and De Theux, six Jesuit scholastics, and a number of secular priests certainly in excess of three. Father Van Quickenborne, when he assisted at the consecration of Bishop Portier in 1826, was not "the chancellor of the little college of Jesuits." Father Van Quickenborne's college, later St. Louis University, opened its doors only in 1829. "The church in St. Louis has reason to be grateful that Rosati stood so firmly by his attachment to this city" (1:968). This sentence, in reference to Bishop Rosati's reluctance to go to New Orleans as bishop, conveys a wrong impression. It was not a merely natural preference for St. Louis as a place of residence that induced Rosati to take the stand he did. His health had never been good, while he was in the South, and he dreaded the loss of physical vigor and efficiency in the ministry if required to live there permanently. Moreover, he feared that he might not be a persona grata to the people of New Orleans.

The paragraph on early Catholicity in Kansas City (1:988) is replete with inaccuracies. Father De La Croix visited the Osage in

1822 not 1820. Purporting, it would appear, to quote from Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, Mr. Stevens writes, "Father De La Croix in his report mentioned that he found a 'handful of Creole settlers at the mouth of the Kansas River.'" No such statement occurs in Father Garraghan's work. His actual words are in an opposite sense. "That he [De La Croix] visited a handful of Creole settlers at the mouth of the Kansas has been asserted, though on what evidence does not appear" (op. cit., p. 24). "Later, in 1834, came Father Roux, etc." Father Roux arrived at Kawsmouth in 1833. "Father Bernard Donnelly succeeded Father Roux in 1846" (1:989). Misleading. Father Roux returned from his mission on the site of the future Kansas City in 1835, the place being visited later by several Jesuit missionaries, among them Father Point, who resided there five months. Father Donnelly was rather the successor at Kansas City of these visiting Jesuit missionaries.

Attention may be called to some further misstatements of fact that have come under the reviewer's notice. Judge Wilson Primm's explanation of the origin of the name of the River des Peres, quoted without any apparent suspicion as to its correctness, bristles with mistakes. "A number of the religious order of Trappists or Monks from Canada had, under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, Canada, settled at Cahokia in what is now St. Clair County, Illinois" (1:106). The Trappists in question came not from Canada, but from France, whence they emigrated first to Kentucky and later to Florissant, which they left to settle not in Cahokia, but alongside of the Big Mound on the Collinsville Road in Madison county, Illinois. These Trappists were never resident on the River des Peres, the name of which is rather to be connected with the Jesuit missionaries who lived with the Kaskaskia Indians at the mouth of the river in the opening years of the eighteenth century, as Father L. J. Kenny, S.J., has conclusively shown. (Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, April, 1919).

The "first free school west of the Mississippi" is said to have been established by the Unitarians in St. Louis in 1836 (2:15). As a matter of fact free schools were established by Mother Duchesne first at St. Charles in 1818 and later in the 'twenties at Florissant and St. Louis. A parochial school for boys attached to St. Charles Borromeo Church, St. Charles, Mo., was opened as early as 1829. The first medical school in St. Louis was not the one connected with Kemper College (2:68). This distinction belongs to the first medical school of St. Louis University, established in 1836. Kemper College began its medical department only in 1840. There is no evidence that Secretary Calhoun opened correspondence with Bishop Du Bourg at St. Louis touching the education of Indian boys (2:15). The first church in St. Louis was erected in 1768 not in 1776 (1:968).

Misprints have been noted as follows: Castuc for Casto (Gonzalez), 1:966; Teagre for Tenagra (1:968); Classene for Claessens (1:512); Achenil for Acheul (2:6); Ande for Aude (2:7).

The illustrations, most of them from the rich collection of the Missouri Historical Society, are numerous and well-chosen and are a real attraction to any lover of Missouri history. All in all, while not to be placed in the same category with Mr. Houck's splendid contributions to the pioneer history of the state, Mr. Stevens' volumes will furnish a vast range of highly interesting reading matter for that very numerous class of persons to whom high standards of historical scholarship are not a matter of deep concern.



DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

BISHOP DU BOURG'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH
PROPAGANDA.

XXXIX
TO ARCHB. PETER CAPRANO,
*Secretary of Propaganda.*¹

Ill.me ac R.me Domine,

1° Sempronius et Julia, contracto coram civili iudice matrimonio, subinde vero legislativa auctoritate divortio separati, ad novas nuptias convolare cupiunt. *Julia*, catholica, ad Episcopum pro facultate nubendi confugit, allegans iudicatum prioris Conjugii nullitatem, ratione *disparitatis* cultus. — *Sempronius* quippe, nullius Religionis sequax, declarat se nusquam, quod ipse noverit, Baptismum in ulla secta suscepisse. Idemque testatur ipsius Avunculus, quocum a juventute, demortuis Parentibus, commoratus est. Quid tunc Episcopus? Numquid potest fieri ut inscius ipse, inscioque avunculo, in infantia nempe, baptisatus fuerit, etsi nullum hujus indicium remaneat? Ab Amp.ne V.a promptam et decisivam dubii istius solutionem supplex efflagito.

II. E decem casibus ad quos limitata fuit concessa mihi facultas dispensandi super impedimento affinitatis in primo gradu laterali, quinque jam, infra octo a concessione menses, absumptis, pro ampliatione ejusdem facultatis supplico. — Semel enim concessa ab Epo hujusmodi Dispensatio necessitatem quandam inducit in quocumque ejusdem generis casu indulgendi, ne ignaris aut male affectis ansa de Epi partialitate conquerendi, et in Religionem ipsam invehendi, praebeatur. Ad hoc, cum ejusmodi matrimonia legibus civilibus permissa sint, negante Ecclesia, periculum imminet ne partes ad judicem, vel pseudo-ministrum confugiant, ut jam plurimis, maximo Religionis detrimento, evenit.

Elapsi fere sunt decem anni a concessi mihi in Decennium generalibus facultatibus. Iterum igitur pro earum renovatione postulo et fausta omnia Amp.ni V.ae adprecans

Cum summa veneratione maneo

Dominationis V.ae Illme ac Rmae

Novae Aureliae Julii 26.a 1825

Humills. ac devotissimus famulus

✠ LUD. GUIL. Epus Neo-Aurelianensis

Ill.mo ac Rmo DD.

Petro Caprano, S. C. de Prop. Fide secretario, Romam.

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.*

TRANSLATION

Most Rev. Archbishop:

1° Sempronius and Julia, after contracting marriage before the Judge, were afterwards divorced by the Legislature and desire now to marry again. *Julia*, who is a Catholic, applies to the Bishop, alleging that the former marriage has been declared null and void, owing to *disparitas cultus*. As to *Sempronius*, who belongs to no religion, he declares that, as far as he knows, he was never baptized in any sect. The same is attested by his uncle, with whom he has lived from his early youth after the death of his parents. What is the Bishop to do? May it not be that, unknown to himself, and unknown to his uncle, Sempronius was baptized in infancy, though no evidence of it is extant. Please Your Grace to give me promptly a definite answer to this doubt.

2. Of the ten cases to which was limited the faculty granted me to dispense from the impediment of relationship in the first degree in collateral line, five already within eight months have been used; hence I beg for an extension of this faculty to more cases. For once the Bishop grants such a dispensation, he is morally obliged to grant it in similar cases, in order that he may not give to the ignorant and to the evil-minded reason to complain of his partiality and to attack Religion on this score. Add to this that, as such marriages are lawful in the eyes of the civil law, if the Bishop refuse, there is danger that the parties will go to the judge, or even a so-called minister, as has already been done by many, to the utmost detriment of Religion.

Ten years have almost elapsed since I received the Decennial general Faculties. I therefore beg for their renewal; and with my best wishes to Your Grace,

with the profoundest respect remain Your Grace's

Most humble and devoted Servant

✠ LOUIS WM., Bp. of New Orleans.

New Orleans, July 26, 1825.

To the Most Reverend

Peter Caprano, Secretary of the S. C. of Propaganda,
Rome.

XL

TO CARD. DELLA SOMALIA,

*Pro-Prefect of Propaganda.*¹

Eminentissime Domine Pro-Praefecte,

Acceptis Sac. Cong.nis litteris, quibus jubeor ad Neo-Eboracensem sedem, Rmi D. Connolly morte viduatam, eos proponere quos maxime idoneos judicaverim, ad illam ex miserabili statu quo redacta est,

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.*

erigendam; nulla adjecta mora, mentem meam *denuo* aperiā. *Denuo*, inquam; quia jam occasione translationis Rmi D. Cheverus a Bostoniensi ad Montalbanensem Cathedralē, opinionem meam hac ipsa de re Sac. Cong.ni praesignificaveram. In eadē scilicet sententiā, quam tum propugnavi, permaneo, nempe uniendas esse sub uno capite Neo-Eborac. et Boston.m Ecclesias, tum propter earum propinquitatem, qua fit ut duorum dierum spatio ab una ad alteram perveniri facile possit—tum quia utraque paucis congregationibus constat, Bostoniensis praecipue, quae vix duas vel tres, easque permodicas, extra urbem numerat, cujus proinde Episcopus vix a simplici Parocho discernitur. Haec quoque ab initio fuerat mens ven. mem. Archipraesulis Joan. Carroll, uti pluries non solum Sac. Cong.ni, sed et nobis familiaribus suis significavit, quae quidem praesenti experimento videtur satis superque confirmata; nemini quippe nostrum dubium est nullitatem Dioecesis Bostoniensis praecipuam causam fuisse, cur Revmus D. Cheverus suae ab ea translationi manus ultro dedit. His adjuciendum puto quod, cum ex una parte lugenda experientia compertum sit, adventitios Praesules, etsi aliunde optimos, nondum tamen Americanis moribus, legibus ac usibus assuefactos, detrimentum potius Ecclesiis nostris quam utilitatem adferre; ex altera vero, cum ad tot, sive jam erectas, sive in posterum erigendas in his Statibus sedes implendas, perpauci in Americano Clero adhuc existant, omnibus illis dotibus ornati, quas Apostolus enumerat, quoque in his regionibus multo magis necessaria sunt, quam forsā in alia quacumque, Episcopalis ordinis decus postulare videtur, ut, solum in casu verae manifestaeque utilitatis, novae erigantur cathedrae; et si quae sint inter erectas, quae sine gravi incommodo, inmo potius cum majori Episcopatus decoro, aliis uniri possint, uniantur.

Quod attinet ad designationem Candidatorum, repetendum duco quod in praefata Epistola Sac. Cong.i affirmabam, vid. omnium quos usquam noverim, sacerdotum, longe aptissimum, et ut melius dicam, *unicum* vere et modis omnibus aptum, mihi videri Rev.m Bened. Fenwick, 45 circiter annos natum, Societati Jesu plurimis abhinc annis mancipatum, alias Neo-Eboraci Pastorem, dein Charlestonii Vicarium generalem, subinde Carmelitis disalc. Sanctimonialibus praepositum, nunc Praesidem Collegii suae Soc.tis Georgiopolis in Marylandia. Hic praeterquam incomparabili prudentia et animorum tractandorum solertia, spectata pietate, raraq. facundia ornatus ab omnibus agnoscitur, duobus praesertim titulis ad sedem Neo-Eborac. praefereendus videtur: 1° utpote *nativitate Americanus*, quae res omnium opinionum et voluntatum, inter tot extraneas partes quibus infausta illa Dioecesis miserrime distrahitur, ipsi conciliare summopere apta est. 2° quia in ea ipsa civitate tot amicos jam numerat quot civitas habet incolas, nulla facta distinctione sive religionum sive nationum. Necdum enim e memoria hominum excidit, quanto studio quantaq. efficacia vineae illi per plurimos annos adlaboraverit, et quot salutis fructus ex ea reportaverit, inter quos insignis fuit trium sectae angl. Ministrorum ad gremium S.ae Matris Ecclesiae conversio, duorumque ex his ad

Sacerdotium profectio. Sed quod majus est, agrum illum spinis et vepribus consitum susceperat excolendum, et paucorum annorum spatium in amoenissimum hortum mutaverat. Discitssit heu! *et iterum exortae spinæ suffocaverunt illum*. Quid mirum quod morigerati omnes et Religionis studiosi illum votis omnibus reclament? Unico impedimento irretitam viedo R.di Ben.ti Fenwick promotionem. Societatis sc. voto, quo dignitatibus Eccl.æ renunciavit: sed hoc facit, mandato apostolico potest dissolvi. Nova certe non erit hujusmodi dispensatio; nec puto eam unquam ob graviora momenta fuisse concessam.

Hic profecto, nisi aliter jussus, sisterem. Cum vero mihi in mandatis sit duo vel amplius proponere, inter quos, quem maximo probaverit, unum Sacra Cong.o seligat,

2° loco Rev.m. Principem Demetrium Aug. De Galitzin designabo, virum satis jam Sac. Cong.ni ob eximias ipsius dotes, spectandum, quam ut meis encomiis egeat. Profecta tamen ipsius aetas, ad sexagesimum, ni fallor, attingens, infirma valetudo, origo extranea, et pauca, ut puto, magnarum civitatum experientia, totidem ipsius nominationi obices adferre possunt.

3° loco: Rev.m. D. McGuire, Hibernum sacerdotem, dudum Sac. Ces. Maj. Viennæ concionatorem, nunc Pittsburgi in Pennsylvania Missionarium, de quo, etsi cum ipso nulla mihi necessitudo intersit, optime tamen sentio. Fateor nihilominus me adeo extraneis factionibus quæ utram Neo-Eboræ. et Philad.sem Ecclesias hucusque verterunt, esse perterritum, ut propter ejus originem, licet aliunde meritiissimi, provectionem ejus pertimuerim.

4° Idem dicam de Rev.do D. Power ejusdem nationis, a pluribus annis S.ti Petri Neo-Ebor. Pastore, et nunc, ni fallor, Dioecesis, sede vac. administratore, qui apud omnes, quos audierim, optimam famam obtinet.

His, cum mandatis Sac. Cong.nis plene satisfactum putem, nihil superest quam ut D. O. adprecam ut Em.am Vestram diu sospitem servet ac felicem, Me, cum omni reverentia, in sacrae purpuræ amplexu, subscribam,

Eminentiae Vestrae

Humillimum et obsequent.um famulum

✦ LUD. GUIL. DU BOURG, Ep. Neo-Aur.

Natchitoches, in Louisiana

in decursu Visit. epis — die Oct. 6.a 1825.

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:

I received the letter of the S. Congregation² directing me to propose for the See of New York, bereft of its Bishop the Right Rev. Connolly, the candidates I deem most capable to raise it from the miserable condition into which it is sunk. Without delay I shall ex-

² This letter is not extant, at least in the Archives of the St. Louis Chancery.

press *once more* my opinion on the matter. I say, *once more*, for at the time of the transfer of the Right Rev. Cheverus from the See of Boston to that of Montauban, I already made known to the S. Congregation what I thought on this subject.³ I am still of the same opinion which I then advocated, namely that the two Churches of New York and Boston ought to be united under one and the same head, both on account of their nearness, which permits to go easily from the one to the other in two days, and because the one and the other are made up of few parishes, Boston especially, which has only two or three, and these very small, outside the city, so that its Bishop is hardly more than an ordinary Pastor. Such in the beginning was likewise the view of the late Archbishop Jno. Carroll, which he expressed repeatedly not only to the S. Congregation, but also to us his friends; and the present experience, it seems, has more than confirmed this view. None of us indeed has the least doubt that the smallness of the Diocese of Boston was the chief cause why the Right Rev. Cheverus lent a most willing hand to his transfer from there. I think I ought to add, too, that, on the one hand, as a sorrowful experience has made it evident that Prelates from abroad, even though otherwise excellent, but as yet unfamiliar with American practices, laws and customs, have proven rather detrimental than useful to our Churches; and, as on the other hand, to fill so many Sees, either actually in existence, or to be erected later on, there are as yet very few American priests adorned with all the qualifications enumerated by the Apostle, and perhaps much more necessary in this country than anywhere else, the dignity of the Hierarchy seems to demand that new Sees should not be created except in cases of true and evident utility; and if, among those already in existence, there are some which may be united, without grave inconvenience, and perhaps even to the greater dignity of the Episcopate, then they should be united.

In regard to the designation of Candidates, permit me to repeat here what I said in the afore-mentioned letter to the S. Congregation, namely, that of all the priests I know, by far the most suitable, or better still, the only one truly and all around suitable, seems to me to be the Rev. Benedict Fenwick: he is about 45 years of age, has belonged for a number of years to the Society of Jesus, was at one time Pastor of New York, then later Vicar General of Charleston, and afterwards Superior of the discalced Carmelite nuns, and is now President of the College of his Society at Georgetown, Maryland. His incomparable prudence and skill in dealing with men, his remarkable piety and rare eloquence are acknowledged by all; and, besides, for two reasons, in my opinion, he should receive the preference for the See of New York: first, he is a native of America, and this in that unhappy Diocese, lamentably torn by so many foreign parties, is most capable to conciliate to him all opinions and wills; secondly, in the city of New

³ We are not in possession of this communication; as the transfer of Dr. Cheverus from Boston to Montauban took place in 1823, this must be the date of the letter here referred to.

York he counts as many friends as there are inhabitants, irrespective of religion or nationality. People still remember the zeal and success with which he labored in that vineyard for a number of years, and the spiritual fruits which he reaped there, in particular the conversion of three Anglican ministers, two of whom were later promoted to the priesthood. And what is best, is that this field, which was so full of thorns and brambles when he took charge, was by his care transmuted within a few years into a most pleasant garden. No sooner had he left, than, alas! the thorns cropping up again smothered it all. No wonder then, that all upright people and all those who have at heart the care of religion wish ardently for his return. There is only one obstacle that I see in the way of his promotion, namely, the Society's vow to renounce all ecclesiastical dignities: but that impediment may be easily removed by a command of the Holy See. Such a dispensation would certainly be no novelty; nor do I think that it was ever granted for a graver cause.

Here I should stop if I had not been told to propose two or more from among whom the S. Congregation may choose the one most acceptable to it.

In the second place I shall mention the Rev. Prince Demetrius Augustine de Galitzin, so well known already to the S. Congregation on account of his excellent qualities as to need no recommendation of mine. However, his advancing age—he is about sixty, if I mistake not—, his poor health, his foreign origin, and, so far, as I know, his limited experience of the ministry in large cities, may prove as many difficulties against his appointment.

In the third place: the Rev. McGuire, a native of Ireland; formerly preacher to His Holy Imperial Majesty at Vienna, now on the Mission of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; although I do not know him personally, I have heard much good of him. I confess, however, I am so much afraid of the foreign parties which have turned topsy turvy the churches of both New York and Philadelphia, that on account of his nationality, and even though he may otherwise be most worthy, I should be afraid of his promotion.

I would say the same of a fourth, the Rev. Power, also an Irishman who has been for a number of years Rector of St. Peter's, New York, and now is, if I mistake not, Administrator of the Diocese: all who speak of him entertain a high opinion of him.

Having, I trust, fully satisfied to the wishes of the S. Congregation, it remains to me only to pray Almighty God to keep Your Em-nence yet long in good health and happiness, and, kissing the sacred purple, to subscribe myself, with the profoundest respect,

of Your Eminence,

the most humble and obedient Servant

✠ L. WM. DU BOURG, Bp. of New Orl.

Natchitoches, Louisiana,

in the course of the Episc. Visitation, October 6, 1825.

XLI

TO ARCHB. PETER CAPRANO,

*Secretary of Propaganda.*¹

Ill.me ac R.me D.ne P.ne Col.me

Litterae Amp.nis tuae, datae 16 Octobris proximi elapsi, hac ipsa hora mihi redditae jubent ut mentem meam aperte significem de Sacerdote Cellini, sc. *qui sint hominis mores, quae pietas, quae prudentia, doctrinaque, qua de causa a me Pastoris munere privatus sit, careatne vere pecunia, sitne tandem sacerdos cujus opera utilis esse in Missionarii officio possit.*

De moribus et pietate valde delicata est quaestio. Debeo tamen veritati aperte dicere D.num Cellini ita imprudenter se gessisse erga certam Matronam viduam aliunde de Religione optime meritam, in cujus domo habitabat, ut vehementibus suspicionibus apud plerosque e suis parochianos ansam dederit. Hic enim ut plurimum videbatur non solum incongruo, sed vere indecenti habitu, etiam in cubiculo matronae, indutus, patroni personam gerere, omnes quotquot sibi displicebant a Mulieris conspectu et colloquio arcere, quin et epistolas ad eam directas aperire, imo et suppressere, famulis suprema et vere herili auctoritate mandare, uno verbo modos omnes assumere quae soli marito conveniunt. Caeterum parochianos superbe, dureque tractabat et lapis scandali erat, potiusquam verus et studiosus ovium suarum Pastor.—Quae quidem mihi abunde suffecissen, ut eum ab illa parochia ad aliam transferrem. Verum ulterius processerat malum, et eo usque devenerat, ut nisi severius in eum egissem, Religioni, meo, quoq. ipsi characteri insanabile vulnus impegissem. Hic scilicet, artibus suis ita debilem et credulam mulierem circumegit, ut ab ipsa plenam et integram bonorum suorum, utique non mediocrum, donationem sibi fieri obinuerit. Quod ubi rescitum est, universus exortus est clamor, et non defuerunt qui mortem ipsi D. Cellini minitarentur. De his omnibus

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.*

The tone of this letter, and the impassioned wording of the Bishop strictures on the character and conduct of Father Cellini, manifest clearly that the prelate was under the influence of his oversensitiveness at the time of writing. It is evident Bishop Du Bourg had lent a too complacent ear to gossip reports. When one remembers the great praises bestowed on Father Cellini when the latter was in Missouri, and even some time after he had gone to Grand Coteau, La., one cannot resist the impression that this total reversal of feeling was due to some personal wound received directly or indirectly from Cellini. No doubt the latter's influence on Mrs. Smith, and the donation made by her of her property to Father Cellini, had a great deal to do with the Bishop's judgment. But there is another side to the affair, which, right or wrong, must be gathered from Cellini's correspondence. At any rate, such a prudent—even timid—disinterested witness as Father De Neckere, reported to Bishop Rosati in a way that makes us understand that Father Cellini was not as black as he is here represented. Rosati's report, too, was very mild; and, at a later date, after the departure of Bishop Du Bourg, he did not hesitate to give him a place in the Diocese of St. Louis.

certior factus, ipsum jussi me adire de gravibus quibusdam negotiis mecum agiturum: quod cum venisset, literis ipsi significavi ne in parochiam suam quacumque de causa regrederetur. Cui jussioni nedum obtemperaret, confestim regressus est, contra Episcopum, suum quoque superiorem Rmum D. Rosati, in cujus Congreg.m quinque abhinc annis receptus fuerat, acerrimas et impudentissimas ventilans querimonias; illicque probabilius remanisset, ni Sacerdos quidam, quem eo ipse miseram, mali progressus exploraturum, excommunicationem ei, meo nomine, minatus esset.

His paucis plene satisfactum mihi videtur petitis de ipsius pietate, moribus et prudentia.

Quoad pisius doctrinam attinet, vere dicam paucos ignorantiores, similique in sua opinione pervicaciores, me unquam offendisse.

Utrum vero pecunia careat, haec duo mihi constant—1.um fere mille scitatis romanis onustum hinc discessisse, 2.um non ita pridem quadringentos, in cambiali contra D.num Lanov Parisiis, ipsi ab eadem matrona fuisse transmissos.

Hinc judicabit Amp.do Vestra quam utilem homo hujus farinae eperam istis missionibus conferre possit. Vae cuivis Episc.o qui cum eo agendum habiturus sit.

Precans Deum ut Amplitudinem Tuam diutius sospitet et servet
Amp.nis Tuae Illmae ac R.mae

Cum summa reverentia maneo

Humill. observantiss.

✠ LUD. GUIL. Epus Neo-Aurel.s

Nova Aureliae Jan.i 26, 1826

Illmo ac Rmo D. Pietro Caprano

SS. CC. de Prop. Fide a Secretis

Sigillata erat Epistola, quum mihi occurrit jam ante discessum D.ni Cellini, inter eum et praefatam matronam convenisse de ipsius reditu cum aplica missione, deque amborum transmigratione in Kentukium, qua de causa ipsa jam omnia sua vendidit eo quam primum ipsi praecursura, et ei memoratos 400 nummos, in viae subsidium, transmisit. Nil igitur mirum quod tam ardentem missionem scilicet quam si obtinuerit, compatiat charissimo Fratri meo Bardensi: nullum enim novi hominem inobedientiore Epli auctoritati infensorem.

✠ LUD. GUIL. Epus Neo-Aurel.s.

XLII.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO

*Secretary of Propaganda.*¹

Ill.me ac Rev.me Domine, P.ne Col.me

Inter negotiorum et afflictionum varietatem quibus continuo oppressus jaceo, mihi ad Amp.m Tuam scribenti, e memoria semper exci-

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.*

dit postulare transumptum authenticum Bullae creationis hujus Sedis Novae Aureliae, datae anno 1795, quod in archivio nostro deest, forsā ab eo ex industria *sublatum* opera eorum quorum interest negare Ecclām parochialem S.ti Ludovici in hac urbe, in *Cathedralem* fuisse erectam. Necessarium etiā esset, ut omnis quaecumque tollatur de illius Instrumenti fidelitate dubietas au cavillatio, subscriptionem Secretarii Cancellariae Romanae authenticari per Consulum Americanum, si quis Romae degerit; sin minus per Ministrum Plenipotentiarium ejusdem nationis apud Regem Christianissimum, quod obtineri facile poterit, mediante Legato Franciae apud Sanctam Sedem, qui ipse affirmare potest dictam subscriptionem, et instrumentum ita firmatum Parisios ad Ministrum exterarum relationum transmittere, ut ibi a memorato Foederatorum Statuum Plenipotentiarario chirographo et sigillo suo muniatur, et inde transmittatur Consuli Franciae in hac Civitate qui illud reddat vel mihi, vel me absente, R.mo D.no J.pho Rosati, meo Coadjutori. De hoc ad Amp.m Tuam scribere pluries animus mihi fuerat; sed specialiter hodie mihi recurrit occasione epistolae cujusdam anni 1807, quam in scriniis nostris reperi, cujus scriptor Vicarium generalem, Sede vacante, alloquens eum arceat a sacris officiis in dicta Ecclesia, die quodam festivo, celebrandi, ea ratione quod, *cum sibi* constaret Ecclesiam S.ti Ludovici nunquam auctoritate pontificia in *cathedralem* erectam fuisse, nullum vicario etiam E.po jus illud denegent. Certe ultimis hisce diebus agitata est quaestio, utrum cathedram Episcopalem in ea erectam subsistere sine-rent. Et fateor audaciam qua cum mendacium illud affirmatum erat, mihi ipsi per plures anos fucum fuisse, donec in manibus R.mi Archiepi D. Mareschal memoratae erectionis bullae exemplar perlegi, in quo disertis verbis designatur parochialis S.ti Ludovici Novae-Aureliae ut cathedralis, donec alia possit assignari. Precor igitur ut quam primum huc transmittatur preciosum illud monumentum omnibus formalitatibus, ut supra, munitum. Interim precor Deum optimum, ut Amp.m Tuam diu sospitem servet et incolumem.

Novae-Aureliae

Jan. 30, 1826

Amplitudinis Tuae Illmae ac Revmae

Humillimus et obseq.mus famulus

✦ LUD. GUIL. Epus Neo Aurel.

Ill.mo ac Rev.me

D. P. Caprano

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Dear Archbishop:

In the midst of the many affairs and troubles which beset me continually, I have always, in my letters to your Grace, forgotten to ask for a authentic Copy of the Bull of erection of this See of New Orleans. This Bull, issued in 1795, is not to be found in our archives, whence perhaps it was *abstracted* by such as had interest in denying

that the parish Church of St. Louis, in this city, had been erected into the *Cathedral*.² It would be necessary also, in order to cut the root of all doubt or cavil as to the genuineness of this document, to have the signature of the Secretary of the Roman Chancery certified by the American Consul, if there is one in Rome; or, in case there be none, by the Plenipotentiary Minister of America to the Most Christian King—which may be obtained easily through the Ambassador of France to the Holy See, who himself may certify the afore-mentioned signature, and then transmit the document thus countersigned by him to the Minister of Foreign Relations in Paris, where the Plenipotentiary of the United States may affix his signature and Seal to it, and have it forwarded to the French Consul in this City, who will hand it to me, or, in my absence, to the Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, my Co-adjutor. It had been repeatedly my intention to write to Your Grace about this affair; put particularly to-day did the thought come back to my mind, suggested by a certain letter, dated 1807, which I found in our archives; in this letter addressed to the Vicar General, during the vacancy of the See, the writer forbids the said Vicar General to officiate in the Church of St. Louis on a certain feast-day, on the plea that, as he was sure the church had never been by Pontifical authority raised to the dignity of cathedral, the Vicar General had absolutely no right to preside therein. This is enough to make one fear that this same right might be denied even to the Bishop. At any rate the question was lately agitated, whether the Episcopal throne placed in it could be allowed to remain. I must confess that the audacity with which this falsehood was affirmed, for several years imposed upon me, until I read in the hands of the Most Rev. Archb. Marechal a copy of the Bull of this erection, in which the parish-church of St. Louis is explicitly designated as the Cathedral of New Orleans, until another could be assigned. I beg you, therefore, to forward me at your earliest convenience this most precious document furnished with all the formalities mentioned above. Meanwhile I pray God to keep Your Grace in good health.

I am, Most Reverend Archbishop,

Your most humble and devoted Servant

✦ LOUIS WM. Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, Januar 30, 1826

The Most Rev. P. Caprano

² It will be recalled that the erection of the Church of St. Louis into the Cathedral of the new Diocese of New Orleans was recorded by Father P. Zamora in the Baptism Register of the parish of St. Landry, Opelousas, La. See *Review*, Vol. III, January—April, 1821, p. 22.

XLIII.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

*Secretary of Propaganda.*¹

Illme ac R.me Domine, P.rone Col.me

Mihi proposueram nihil de recenti institutione Vic.i Aplici pro Floridis et Alabama Romam scribere, ne forte suspicio aliqua oriretur me hujusmodi determinationis esse contrarium. Puto tamen me officio meo defuturum, si amplius hac de re silerem. Jam satis superque manifestaveram Sac. Congr.i non solum per me non stare quo minus Floridae a mea jurisdictione separarentur, imo id mihi cum primis in votis semper fuisse. His quod adjungatur Alabama sub uno Vicario Aplico, nihil meo judicio desiderabilius. Sed duo sunt super quibus mihi videtur praemature actum fuisse.

1.m Necesse fuerat explorare utrum media suppeterent, quibus hujusmodi Vicarius, tum suis, cum Missionariorum necessitatibus prospicere posset. Circa quod aperte dicere, possum et debeo, exceptis duabus vel tribus parochiis quae vix in praesentiarum uni parochio sufficere unaquaeque valet, nihil omnio in hoc immenso terrarum tractu subsidii pro Religionis fomento inveniri.

Perpauci quippe sunt, iique longis spatiis distracti, et insuper pauperrimi Catholici. Prima igitur esse deberet Sac. Cong.is sollicitudo, fundum aliquem stabilire vel saltem redditum annum determinare. quo Vicarius et duo vel tres saltem itinerantes Missionarii, alerentur, nullo populis imposito gravamine. Sic certe aliquid sperandum esset, secus nullo modo.

Secundum: quoad designationem personae, mihi videtur Sacram Congr.m in errore fuisse inductam a quocumque Rev. Michaeli Portier ipsi proposuit. Consulto insinatus fuisse suspicor dictum Sacerdotum esse Lugdunensem presbyterum; nimirum ut ne quidem putaret Sacra Congregatio de consulendo mecum circa dotes et idoneitatem eligendi. Ita certe est, si natalitia considerentur; verum si sacerdos Cong.i expositum fuisset juvenem illum ab aetate viginti annorum, meae Diocesi fuisse adscitum, sub oculis meis continuo versatum, et a me ad Sacros ordines promotum, puto nulla alia ex parte quaestitas fuisse informationes. Quae si a me fuissent sciscitatae, nihil progressum hac in re fuisset, cum veritati debeam dicere esti virtute et ingenio praeditum, longe adhuc ab hac gravitate, moderatione, sui imperio, doctrina ecclesiastica, prudentia, experientia, quae episcopum decent, praesertim in hujusmodi regionibus, ubi sibi soli sufficere debeat, distare Rev.m Mich. Portier; quod mirum videre non potest si consideretur eum, a tempore ordinationis suae, sex circiter abhinc annis, vix duos Sacro Ministerio, reliquos institutioni juventutis in primariis scholis devovisse. Quod profecto in causa fuit cur omnibus ad quorum notitiam pervenit ejus institutio, admirationem maximam

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.*

faceret. Utrum acceptare, an declinare onus sibi propositum deberet Me interrogavit; et licet mentem de negotio tam delicato, super quo Sacra Cong.o mecum consultandum non judicaverat, ipsi aperire repugnarem, victus tamen ejus precibus, efficii paterni tandem esse duxi, quid de ipsius idoneitate, quidque de hujusmodi oneris gravitate sentirem, palam significare; quo factum est ut absque haesitatione ulla literas Aplicas Romam cum suis excusationibus remitteret.

Haec omnia ad Amp.m Vestram scribendum putavi; non, quod absit, querimoniae modo, sed ut muneri meo faciam satis. Hic enim potissimum applicanda mihi videtur D. Cypriani sententia: *Episcopatum esse in solidum*.

Quod ad me attinet, Illme Domine, summa impatientia Paschatis solemnitate praestolor, quam perfectionis meae in Europam terminum praefixi. Longior quippe mea in hac regione permanentia neque cum bono Religionis, nec cum familiae meae securitate consistere potest. Multus mihi fuit labor, praeteritis his temporibus, nepotum, imo et Fratris mei charissimi vindictam in aggressores meos compescere, et vix una nunc transit hebdomada, quin in diariis libellis aliqua in me jactentur convitia, occasione infelicis illius hispani sacerdotis (Sigura) in unam e suburbanis ecclesiis laica auctoritate intrusi cui, etsi ab ipsimet suis fautoribus summopere contemnantur, in odium tamen mei, aperte patrocinantur; indeque permulti ansam arripiunt veterem in mobilem projiciendi. Quamdiu naturalium meorum defensorum brachia ligare amplius detur, plane nescio; cum tamen sola cogitatio quod, mei causa, sanguis,² memorum cognatroum fundi possit nullam mihi requiem habere patitur.

Haec, ut spero, mihi apud Beatissimum Patrem nostrum favebit excusatio, pro dimissa mea aut ad tempus Coadjutori meo assignata non expectato Sanctitatis Suae consensu. In hoc enim mihi suffragare, imo et imperare videtur Jus ipsum naturale; nec unquam potiori ratione praesumendus mihi videtur fuisse Superioris assensus. Quod si necesse fuerit Romam petere, ut causam meam coram Sanctissimo Domino et Patre nostro dicam, quod spero me brevi post adventum in Galliam resciturum, incunctanter pergam, nihil dubitans eum mihi fore propitium.

Interea Deum enixe rogans ut Amplitudinem Vestram diu suspitum servet ac felicem,

Cum summa reverentia maneo

Amplitudinis V.ae Illmae ac Rmae

Nova Aur.ae Feb. 17, 1826

Humillimus et obsequentissimus famulus

✠ L. GUIL. DU BOURG Epus Neo-Aur.

Illmo ac Rev.mo DD. Petro Caprano, Archbo Icon. S. Cong. de Prop.
Fid a secretis

² Word illegible.

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Dear Archbishop:

I had resolved not to write about the recent institution of a Vicar Apostolic and at least two or three itinerant missionaries without im-suspicion that I was opposed to this decision. However I would consider it a breach of duty on my part if I kept silence any longer. I have long since manifested more than sufficiently that not only I was not averse to the separation of Florida from my jurisdiction, but even that this was all along one of my great wishes. That Alabama be joined to Florida under one and the same Vicar Apostolic, nothing, in my opinion, is more desirable. But there are two points on which it seems to me action was taken prematurely.

1° There should have been some inquiry made as to whether there are at hand the means to support both the Vicar Apostolic and his missionaries. On this subject I may—and must—say openly, that, with the exception of two or three parishes which actually can support each one priest, and that with difficulty, no means whatever are to be found in that immense territory to foster the development of Religion.

For, as a matter of fact, the Catholics there are very few, and far apart, and, moreover, very poor. The first object of the solicitude of the S. Congregation should be to establish some fund, or at least determine some annual income, which could support the Vicar Apostolic and at least two or three itinerant missionaries without imposing any burden on the people. In this way, one could hope for something; otherwise nothing is to be hoped for.

2° In regard to the designation of the person, it seems to me that the S. Congregation has been induced into error by anyone who proposed to it the Rev. Michael Portier. I have a suspicion it was deliberately intimated that that priest belongs to the clergy of Lyons: this was done clearly in order to prevent the S. Congregation from consulting me about the qualifications and fitness of the candidate. The assertion is true, in so far as his birthplace is concerned; still if that gentleman had told the S. Congregation that this young man has been incorporated into my Diocese since he was twenty years of age, has lived constantly under my very eyes, was promoted by me to Sacred Orders, I am convinced that informations would not have been sought anywhere else than here. Now had I been asked these informations, the affair would have stopped right there, as I owe it to truth to declare, that virtuous and talented as the Rev. Michael Portier is, he is still far from possessing that gravity, moderation, self-control, ecclesiastical knowledge, prudence and experience, which a Bishop must have, particularly in this country, where he has to reckon on himself alone. These deficiencies of his will not appear surprising, if one but considers that, since the time of his ordination, about six years ago, he has exercised the sacred ministry for scarcely two years, the rest being spent in teaching in primary schools. Hence the utmost surprise of all those who have heard of his appointment. He has

asked me whether he should accept or decline the burden offered him; despite my reluctance to express my opinion on so delicate a subject upon which the S. Congregation did not deem it fit to consult me, yielding at last to his entreaties, I have considered it my duty as a father to let him know plainly what I thought about his fitness and the weight of such a burden. Whereupon without any hesitation he has sent back the Apostolic letters with his excuses.

I have thought it well to write all this to Your Grace, not to complain—far be the thought!—but to discharge my duty. This is indeed preeminently a case where, to my mind, we should apply the saying of St. Cyprian, that “the Episcopate stands and falls together.”

As to myself, Most Reverend Archbishop, I am awaiting most impatiently the feast of Easter, which I have determined as the date of my departure for Europe. For a longer stay in this country is incompatible with both the good of Religion and the safety of my family. I had a great deal of trouble lately to stop my nephews, nay even my dearest brother from taking revenge of those who attack me; and now scarcely a week passes by that I am not grossly insulted in the newspapers at the occasion of that miserable Spanish priest (Sigura), who was foisted upon the church of one of the suburbs by the trustees; even though this man is utterly dispised by his abettors, yet these, out of hatred towards me, make themselves openly his supporters; this incident has resulted in many taking this opportunity to² . . . How long I shall yet be able to restrain my natural defenders, I know not; but the mere thought that on my account blood—the blood of my relatives—may be shed does not leave me a moment’s rest.

This, I trust, shall be with our Holy Father an excellent excuse for my resigning my burden or confiding it temporarily to my Co-adjutor, without waiting for the consent of His Holiness.³ This course seems to be approved, nay even commanded, by Natural Law itself, and in no case were there ever better reasons, it seems to me, to presume the Superior’s consent. Should it be necessary for me to go to Rome, in order to plead my cause before the Holy Father, I hope I shall learn it soon after landing in France, and I will start at once, having no doubt that he will grant my petition.

Meanwhile, praying God earnestly to keep Your Grace yet many years in good health and happiness,

I remain with the most profound respect,

Your Grace’s

Most humble and obedient servant

✠ L. WM. DU BOURG, Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, Febr. 17, 1826

To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano, Archb. of Iconium, Secretary of Prop.

³ This letter, and in it, this paragraph and the preceding, are most important in the history of Bishop Du Bourg’s mysterious resignation. Here he alleges his main reason for this step; other motives will be adduced in subsequent letters; but they obviously played only a secondary part in his reaching this momentous decision.

XLIV

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

*Secretary of Propaganda.*¹

Ill.me ac Rev.me Domine, P.rone Col.me,

Etsi verear me literarum mearum frequentia patientiam Amp.nis Vestrae fatiget, quaedam tamen, praecedentibus meis addenda videntur, per quae illis, ut praesertim posterioribus, robur accedat.

Jam satis, et ad nauseam usque, de odio quo homines isti oderunt me gratiis, aures Sacrae Cong.is et Vestrae Amp.is obtudi. Nescio tamen quomodo me fugit observare hinc scandalum pluribus e meo clero subortum, hinc etiam aliquos ansam arripuisse liberius et insolentius mecum agendi; inter quos, et in primis, R.m Michaelem Portier, eum ipsum quem ad Episcopatum, tremendum in his regionibus onus promovere cogitat Sacra Cong.o, me piget nominare. Unde patet me nulli proficuum amplius hic esse posse. Utrum odium mea culpa mihi provenierit, nescio, Deus scit — Hoc scio, quod bonitatem et indulgentiam ad extremos limites, erga omnes, exercuerim, et quod nullum verbum, etiam sacerdotum contemptui aut insolentiae unquam opposuerim, veritus scilicet eos inimicorum meorum phalangi se adjuncturos, et dissensiones clericorum cum Epo maximo scandalo occasionem daturas. — Non quod suspicatum velim praefatum Rev.m Portier fide aut virtutibus esse destitutum; sed levis omnino et inconsideratus homo est, jugi cujuslibet impatiens, independentiam affectans, nullam anini finitatem et firmitatem habens, paratusque omni vento girari.

Facile animadvertit Sacra Cong.o in hujusmodi circumstantiis, me, alioqui summa sensibilitate praeditum, omnium hominum infelicitissimum esse debere; et ita res se habet; adeo ut servorum sortem, meae comparatam, paradisu judicaverim; nihilque dubitarem in severissimo Monasterio poenitentiam ad ultimum vitae terminum, si Summo Pontifici libuerit, protrahere quam vel unum amplius annum hoc onere gravatum expetere.

Vix credi potest quam contagiosa, ipsimet clero, virisque alias morigeratis, sint libertatis et independentiae principia quae in his Statibus per omnes sensus imbibunt; unde mihi semper persuasum fuit vix aliquid boni sperari posse nisi ex Congregationibus, aut ordinibus religious, in quibus viget stricta obedientia. Hinc continuum studium meum ad fovendas hujusmodi foundationes in ista Dioecesi, ingratis et difficillima omnium. Hinc sperandum est R.mum D. Rosati, cum aliunde universali existimatione tum Cleri, cum populi gaudeat, ope suae Congregationis utilissimam Religioni operam in hac Louisiana navaturum. — Nihilque mea prolongata commoratione facerem, nisi bonum illud retardare, quin et forsitan illa ipsa dilatione difficilius aut etiam impossibile redere. Haec, cum coram Deo parata

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.*

mente revolvo, magis ac magis persuadeor, nedum ipsius divinae voluntati abdicatione mea contradicam, imo nihil agere me posse quod ipsius gloriae et ovium mihi concreditarum utilitati magis consonum fuerit.

Parcat importunitati meae Amp.do Vestra, et misertus tam deplorandae sortis, manum adjutoriam extendere non dedignetur,

Humillimo suo et obsequent.mo famulo

✦ LUD. GUIL. Ep.o N. Aurel.

Novae Aureliae Feb.rii 27, 1826.

Illmo ac Rev.mo D.no Petro Caprano

S. C. de Prop. Fide a secretis.

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Dear Archbishop:—

Even though I have reason to be afraid that my frequent letters are tiresome to your Grace, there are a few things which it seems necessary to add to my previous communications in order to render them, especially the last, more weighty.

Enough and more than enough have I already dinned into the ears of the S. Congreg. and of Your Grace about the unjust hatred wherewith these people hate me. I forgot, however, I know not how, to remark that this has caused scandal among quite a number of my clergy, and has furnished to others a pretext to act with me disrespectfully and even insolently. Among the latter I am sorry to have to mention above all the Rev. Michael Portier,² the self-same man whom the S. Congregation intends to appoint to the Episcopal dignity,—a burden really tremendous in this country. Hence it is clear that my usefulness here is absolutely at an end. Whether this hatred has come to me by my own fault, I know not; God knows it. But this I know, namely, that I extended kindness and indulgence even to the extreme limits, towards all, and that I never replied a word even to the expressions of contempt or insolence of the priests, being afraid that these would swell the ranks of my enemies, and that dissensions between the Clergy and the Bishop might give rise to grave scandal. In saying this my intention is not to give the impression that Fr. Portier is lacking in faith or virtue; but he is given to levity, inconsiderate,

² It would not be fair to pass an unfavorable judgment on Bishop-Elect Michael Portier, on the sole evidence of this accusation of Bishop Du Bourg. The prelate had always been very sensitive to criticism; and it seems that Father Martial did not go very far astray in his appreciation, when he wrote to his friend Billaud, at the French Embassy in Rome that the Bishop, who was weak with those who flattered him, could not brook any criticism. Did Father Portier, about the time of the writing of this letter, forgetful of the oversensitiveness of the prelate, venture to make some unflattering remark? We cannot say with certainty, although this seems to be what is intimated by the Bishop. Falling upon overwrought nerves, the criticisms of Portier must have caused a deep and painful wound. Bishop Du Bourg analyzed excellently his own case when he says, some lines below: "In the midst of such circumstances, most keenly sensitive as I am, I must be the most unhappy of men."

restive, affecting independence, purposeless, devoid of firmness and ever ready to veer with every wind.

The S. Congregation may easily understand that, in the midst of such circumstances, most keenly sensitive as I am, I must be the most unhappy of men; and indeed such is the case, so much so, in fact, that I should deem the condition of slaves actually a paradise, compared to my own condition, and I would not hesitate to ask to end my days, if it so please the Sovereign Pontiff, in the most rigorous Monastery rather than remain only one year with that burden.

It is scarcely possible to realize how contagious even to the clergy and to men otherwise well disposed, are the principles of freedom and independence imbibed by all the pores in these United States. Hence I have always been convinced that practically all the good to be hoped for must come from the Congregations or religious Orders among which flourishes strict discipline. Wherefore my constant care has always been to foster the foundation of such establishments in this most ungrateful and difficult Diocese. For this reason it is to be hoped that the Right Rev. Bp. Rosati, who, at any rate enjoys the esteem of all, among both the clergy and laity, by means of his Congregation, may do very good work in Louisiana. My staying longer here would do nothing but delay this good; nay even perhaps might it contribute to render it more difficult, or even impossible. When I meditate all these things before God, I become more and more convinced that not only shall I not go against the will of God in resigning my See, but I can do nothing better and nothing more perfectly in accordance with His glory and the utility of the flock committed to my care.

Please your Grace pardon my insistence, take pity on my deplorable condition, and deign extend a helping hand to

Your most humble and obedient Servant

✠ L. WM., Bp. of N. Orl.

New Orleans, February 27, 1826.
To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano,
Secretary of Propaganda.

XLV.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

*Secretary of Propaganda.*¹

Ill.me ac Rev.me Domine, Prone Col.me,

Recens accepi a Rmo Collega nostro Bardensi, Epistolam, quam operae pretium duxi, autographum ad Amp.m Vestam transmittere, ut quae sit inter Epos istorum statuum, de nominationibus ad vacantes, aut recens institutas sedes, opinionum consensio, meliori et compen-

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826*.

diosiori via discere possit. Est haec epistola responsio uni e meis in qua fratribus meis consilium meum hac de re proponebam, quam idcirco, anglico idiomate, ut erat conscriptam, illi adjiciendam putavi.

Doleo valde, Religionis causa, quod in casu Presb'i Michaelis Portier, omissae fuerit consuetae indagationes, praesertim ab iis praesulibus quibus notus sit, et sub quorum regimine per octo ultimos annos est conservatus. Quidquid alii de eo asserere potuerint referri solum potest ad ipsius adolescentiam. Vix enim undevicesimum attingerat, cum Lugduno sub meo ductu exiit, moribus sane et igenio inter aequales conspicuus, sed adhuc nimium juvenis, ut quis deinceps futurus esset certo potuerit conjici. Exinde vero ne pedem quidem a mea dioecesi unquam movit, nulli proinde ex Americanis Epis, praeter me et Coadjutorem meum se dignoscendum praebuit. Ut primum sonuit vox hujus nominationis, a risu temperare non potuerunt plerique ipsius amici et consacerdotes; sed quod me multo accerbiori dolore affecit, ipsimet laici et mulieres, etiam inter morigeratos, summam admirationem testati sunt, quod juvenis quem nihil inter aequales distinguit aut commendat, qui nulla rerum experientia pollet, ad tantam et tam arduam dignitatem evectus fuerit. Non defuerunt qui me hujus determinationis accusarent, quibus vix persuadere potui nullam in ea partem me habuisse, nec unquam fuisse consultum. Quod si probi et religiosi ita sentiant, quid erit de dissolutis et impiis, quibus ista regio scatit?

Nolim Amp.m Vestram suspicari, me aegre ferre sive Floridarum separationem, sive amissionem D. M.is Portier; illam enim diu postulavi, nec aliud de extensione illa territorii praeter molestia mihi accedit. Istum vero, propter animi inconstantiam et affectatam independentiam, alio se transferre cuperem, praesertim ubi sub obedientiae vinculo fraenata ipsius levitate, naturales ipsius dotes ad majorem ecclesiae utilitatem possent maturescere. Ad hoc nullus utrivis desiderio nunc mihi locus esse potest, qui, quod ad me attinet nihil praeter meam liberationem aut cupio aut cogito, sed etsi sponsus istius Ecclesiae esse desinam, non cessabo tamen ipsi bene velle, et illius augmentum prop posse promovere. Ideo sententiam meam de iis quae ad Religionis honorem spectant, liberius depromo, sperans Amp. Vestram et Sac. Cong.m mihi condonatueros si quid minus reverenter expresse- rim. Nihil enim antiquius habeo quam ut altissimam demissionem meam erga S.tam Sedem et Sacram Congregationem modis omnibus significem. Meque ipsum verbo et opere adprobem

Amp.nis Vestrae Ill.mae ac Revmae
Novae Aureliae, Martii 10, 1826,

Humillimum et obsequentissimum famulum

✱ LUD. GUIL. DU BOURG Epus Neo-Aur.

Illmo ac Revmo Dno

Petro Caprano — Archpo

Iconiensi S. C. de Prop. Fide a Secretis

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend and Dear Archbishop:—

I received lately from our Right Rev. Colleague of Bardstown a letter, of which I thought it my duty to forward the original to Your Grace, in order that you may understand in a better and shorter way the consensus of opinion which exists among the Bishops of the United States, regarding the appointments to the vacant or recently established Episcopal Sees. This letter is a reply to one of mine, in which I was setting forth to my brother-bishops my views on the subject: this my letter I enclose herewith in English, just as it was written.²

Natchitoches (La) in the course of our
Episcopal Visitation, October 4, 1825.

Right Rev. Sirs and Very Dear Brethren,

About one year ago, if my memory serves me well as to time, I received an invitation from *Propaganda*, which I must suppose to have been addressed also to every Bishop in the United States to give my opinion for the appointment of a successor to Dr. Cheverus in the See of Boston; and just now a similar one has reached me, respecting that of New York, vacated by the death of Dr. Connolly. From this it is natural to conclude that the Holy Congregation has come to a settled plan, not to proceed henceforth in the American nominations, but upon the joint suffrages of the American Bishops.

The plan is, no doubt, a very correct one in every point of view. But its efficacy must necessarily depend upon the mode of carrying it into operation. The present one appears to me extremely defective inasmuch as the unavoidable discrepancy of insulated opinions must necessarily throw *Propaganda* into the greatest perplexity as to the choice of one subject among the several that may be proposed, particularly as each of them may eventually chance to obtain but a single vote in his favor: the consequence of which must be an indefinite protraction in the appointments, the greatest calamity that can befall our infant Churches.

Reunion of Bishops on those all important occasions, would, if practicable, be the best remedy to the impending evil, and for my part, cost what it might, neither fatigue nor expence would deter me from attempting a long journey on an errand of such interest to Religion. I allow, however, that in many cases, either the advanced age, infirmities, or even the poverty of some of the Prelates might throw insuperable obstacles in the way of these desirable meetings. At least would I propose an understanding among the Bishops, by means of epistolary communications. The Archbishop, or in case of his absence, or death, the eldest Bishop might be commissioned by the Holy See, in the emergency of any vacancy, to confer by letters, with his colleagues, to suggest to each of them his own ideas, to receive their in return, and in case of such division of opinions as might still embarrass the nominations, to acquaint them with the number of votes given to each of them, in order that, upon a new consideration of the subject, the Bishops might, if they thought proper, modify their former opinions, and join in making a common return. Intricate as this process may appear, it seems to me by far the most expeditious and the best calculated to satisfy the minds of the Sacred Congregation, by affording them at once a full view of the general opinion of the Bishops on the respective merits of the candidates.

² This letter was sent from Natchitoches, La., October 4, 1825, that is, just about the time Bishop Du Bourg was writing on the same subject to Card. della, Samalia, Pro-Prefect of *Propaganda* (Letter XL above). Here is the text of this communication to the Bishops of the United States, as it is found in the Archives of *Propaganda*, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Codice 8—clearly the copy sent by Du Bourg to Archbishop P. Caprano:

A far shorter cut assuredly would be that every Bishop should be provided with a Coadjutor to succeed him on his demise. But this, I am sensible, may be liable to many objections, flowing chiefly from the difficulty of making provisions for *two* Bishops when a sufficient maintenance can hardly be found for *one*. I should conceive, however, that titular Bishops themselves being happily exempt in this country from every kind of costly representation, Coadjutors might, with still greater reason, be contented for the support of their Episcopal dignity, with the same emoluments deemed sufficient to support them as subordinate Pastors. Be it as it may I cannot help thinking that it is a strong idea entertained, I am told, in some of the ecclesiastical offices at Rome, that Coadjutors should not be granted to Bishops on foreign Missions but in cases of extreme necessity; and though, at present, personally disinterested on the subject I would willingly propose to my Brethren to join in a simultaneous address to Propaganda pointing out the happy results that would arise from this measure in keeping up uniformity in the administration, insuring the continuation of establishments commenced, precluding intrigues and warding off the manifold dangers attending protracted vacancy. All that should be reasonably required would be that the Titular demanding such an auxiliary, should present satisfactory vouchers on the merits of the subject proposed by him, supported by the suffrages of *two*, at least, of the other Bishops.

Shall I not be accused of intrusion in thus presuming to take the initiative, in a matter, which as it regards all my colleagues, would, with more propriety have been canvassed by any of them than by me, the least of all? I must own that this reflection has long deterred me from any such communication. Yet, recollecting the word of St. Cyprian "*Episcopatus est in solidum*" which is particularly enforced in the application made to each of us by the Holy See, I have concluded that every member of the Episcopal body is strictly indebted to all of his Brethren for a candid disclosure of all his own views towards the consolidation and advancement of the common interest, and consequently that it were in me a breach of duty amounting to the most culpable indifference to Religion to withdraw from my colleagues those lights which I may, though, perhaps, erroneously deem useful for our common guidance. I fondly hope therefore to be pardoned, not only for the foregoing hints, but also for the communication of my answer to Propaganda, with respect to the new appointment, the whole of which I mean to submit to the superior judgment of my brethren and Most Reverend Masters, with an entire deference to, and a cordial acquiescence in their decisions.

At the time of the venerated Patriarch of the American Church, Archbishop Carroll was soliciting the division of his then immense Diocese, he was, as he himself repeatedly told me particularly desirous to see Boston and New York united under one Bishop and could not help manifesting some vexation that the contrary opinion had prevailed at Rome. His chief reasons were, the propinquity of those two cities, which made it easy to travel from one to the other in a couple of days—and the comparatively small number of Catholic Congregations in both territories, particularly in that of New England; which would render the situation of a Bishop in Boston hardly dissimilar from that of a simple parish-priest; a situation truly discouraging for a prelate of an active mind, and little honorable to Episcopacy. I was forcibly struck at these observations, which, since have turned to be real forebodings. For who doubts now, but to the circumstance of the insignificance of the See of Boston is chiefly due the irretrievable loss for America of its late Incumbent? In consequence therefore of these reflections, when Propaganda did me the honor of consulting me on the nomination to the Church vacated by the translation of Dr. Cheverus I clearly expressed my opinion of the propriety of reuniting Boston and New York under one spiritual head; and in answer to the present call I renew my answer to the same effect.

Now as to the designation of subjects fit to fill up that most important station and particularly (to use the expression of Propaganda) to raise the Church of New York from the state of depression and distraction into which it is fallen, I have returned four names, viz.:

1. The Rev. Ben. Fenwick
2. The Rev. Demetrius de Galitzin
3. The Rev. N. McGuire, of Pittsburg
4. The Rev. N. Power, of New York,

giving it as my decided opinion, that however eminent the merits of the three latter may be, which I hold in the highest estimation, the first should unhesitatingly be preferred: 1st, as a *Native American*, a circumstance which, in the present state of the church at New York distracted as it is by foreign parties, highly qualifies the Rev. Ben. Fenwick as a mediator of peace; 2ndly, as having already been most successfully employed in stations of high responsibility, particularly in New York and Charleston; in both which he established a character of consummate prudence, indefatigable industry and eminent talents and whence he carried with him the respect and regrets of all classes of inhabitants without any difference of Religions or of nations.

With great respect and brotherly attachment, I remain,

Right Reverend and very dear Brethren,

Your most humble servant,

L. WM., Bishop of New Orleans.

I much regret, for the sake of Religion, that in the case of Father Michael Portier, the customary inquiries were omitted, especially from such prelates as know him, and under whose jurisdiction he has lived during the last eight years. Whatever others might state about him can have bearing only on the years of his youth. For scarcely was he nineteen years of age, when he came from Lyons under my direction; he was then conspicuous among his fellow-students by his conduct and talents, but yet too young for anybody being able to forecast what he was to be later on. From that time on, he has never left my Diocese; hence no American Bishop, outside of myself and my Coadjutor, had ever any chance to know him. No sooner did the first rumor of his appointment reach here, than most of his friends and fellow-priests could not help laughing heartily over it; but what saddened me yet much more, laymen and women, even among those well-disposed, manifested their wonderment, that a young man, whom nothing singles out and recommends particularly among his fellows, and who has no experience, should be raised to such a high and difficult position. Some did accuse me of this decision, whom I could scarcely convince that I had absolutely nothing to do with it, and had never been consulted about it. When good and religious people are feeling that way, what can you expect of the men of loose morals and of no religion, so numerous in this part of the country?

I would not have Your Grace conceive the least suspicion that I am sorry of the dismemberment of Florida from my Diocese, or of the loss of Father M. Portier. That Florida should be taken away from me, I have long petitioned; and I have never reaped anything but trouble from that wide expanse of territory. As to Father Portier, on account of his levity of mind and his affectation of independence, I wish he would go somewhere else, where under the bridle of obedience that levity of his might be checked, and his natural talents might grow to maturity for the greater utility of the Church. But there is no use now of me wishing either of these things, as, in so far as I am personally concerned, I have no other longing and no other thought but for my

freedom; however, even though the bands uniting me to this Church are to be severed, yet I shall never cease to wish it good, and to promote its increase by all means in my power. This is why I most freely set forth my opinion about what concerns the honor of Religion, hoping that Your Grace and the S. Congregation will pardon any expressions of mine which might appear somewhat lacking in reserve, for I have nothing more at heart than to manifest by all possible means my most profound respect to the Holy See and the S. Congregation, and to prove myself by word and deed,

Your Grace's

Most humble and obedient Servant,

✦ LOUIS WM. DU BOURG, Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, March 10, 1826.

To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano,

Archbishop of Iconium,

Secretary of the S. Cong. of Propaganda.

XLVI.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

*Secretary of Propaganda.*¹

Illme ac Rev.me Domine

Post 30 dierum felicissimam navigationem, ecce ad oras Galliae laetus appellor, brevi Romam iter arrepturus. Peragrata tota Foederata America usque ad Novum Eboracum, ubi prima Junii navem conscendi, occasionem nactus sum singulas ferme lustrandi Dioceses, et propriis oculis earum necessitates explorandi. Neo-Eboracum praecipuam clamat Sanctae Sedis sollicitudinem, ut quamprimum de idoneo Pastore ipsi provideatur. In varias quippe factiones discerpta videtur viduata illa Ecclesia, quae tamen, ut puto, facile coalescerent, si, neglectis caeteris ad Episcopatum praetendentibus, ad ipsius regimen assumeretur Rev.us A. Kohlmann, So. Jesu, nunc in Collegio Romano degens, qui cum Neo-Eboraci per plurimos annos olim pastorale munus dignissime gesserit, omnibus etiam nunc ita receptus est, ut *primo loco* a plerisque, *secundo* a caeteris reclametur. Vereor tamen ne nimis sero nuncius iste Romam adveniat. — Vereor etiam ne ipse contentionum et aemulationum quae in illo clero misere praevalent, certior factus, onus Episcopale mordicus rejiciat, quod profecto ipsi vix tolerandum fieret, nisi ex *Americanis* sacerdotibus, qui in dicto Romano Collegio plures jam annos extiterunt, duo vel tres in partem sollicitudinis ipsi consociarentur. Hoc unco scilicet modo sperari potest subordinationis et Ecclesiasticae unionis restauratio.

De his, plurimisque aliis ad bonum Ecclesiae Americanae spectantibus, praesens opinionem, non dico *meam*, sed ferme omnium qui ejus

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.*

statum intime noverunt, eo liberius depromam, quod jam in suspicionem venire nequeam me ullo partium affectu moveri, siquidem firmiter adhaereo proposito sedem meam abdicandi, speroque me facile demonstraturum, non solum pacis mea, sed praesertim Religionis plurimum interesse, ut saepius oblata mea resignatio benigne tandem acceptetur. In ea certe persuasione necum consentiunt quotquot ex intimis familiaribus prudenter consulere potui, qui mihi ad unum auctores fuere ut loco meo quamprimum cederem, periculum in mora futurum esse opinantes.

Si nondum actum est de nominatione Rev.di Michaelis Portier ad Vicariatum Apostolicum Floridarum et Alabamae, cujus *Breve* felici hora Romam retromisit, sperans tamen (prout mihi certius constat) gratam sibi vim esse inferendam, muneris mei esse duco Amplitudini Vestrae significare, electionem istam tantum administrationis in tota America movisse, ut mihi eam, omnes ad quos ejus pervenit notitia, graviter exprobraverint, putantes scilicet me praecipuam in ea partem habuisse, vixque fidem mihi adhibuerint, eam me inconsulto factam, asseveranti.

Nilhil me ultra ab itinere, Romam versus, prosequendo demorabitur, praeter valetudinis curam, quae post tam longam terra marique peregrinationem, aliquot saltem dierum quietem et refrigerationem exposcit; ardentem enim cupio ad Beatissimi Patris pedes advolare, Amplitudique Vestrae facie ad faciem, illas existimationis et obsequii mei significationes edere, quas nunc literis venerabundus offero

Amp. is V. ae Illmae ac Revmae

Havre, Julii 3, 1826

Humillimus et devotiss. us famulus

✠ LUL. GUIL. Epus Novae Aur. ae

Illmo ac Revmo D. no Petro Caprano Arch. o Icon. i

S. C. de Propaganda Fide a Secretis; Romam.

TRANSLATION

Most Rev. Archbishop:—

After a most happy voyage of thirty days, I have just joyfully landed in France and shall start shortly for Rome. As I travelled all the United States as far as New York, whence I sailed on June 1st, I had a good opportunity of seeing nearly all the Dioceses of that country and to see their needs with my own eyes. New York more than any other place should be the object of the solicitude of the Holy See, and a suitable Pastor should be given it without delay. Several factions indeed seem to tear asunder that Church bereft of its Bishop; yet all these factions, I think, would unite easily, if before all other candidates Father Kohlmann, S.J.² now residing in the Roman College,

² That Bishop Du Bourg proposes now Father Kohlman for New York, after so warmly recommending, the year before, the appointment of Father Benedict Fenwick, is not to be ascribed to fickleness, but to the fact that, early in 1825, Rome, on the recommendation of Bishops Conwell, England, Flaget and E. D. Fenwick, had appointed B. Fenwick to the See of Boston. He was consecrated Nov. 1, 1825 in the cathedral of Baltimore.

was appointed; as he most worthily discharged the pastoral office in that city for a number of years, he even now enjoys such a repute that he is the first choice of the greater number, and the second of the others. However, I am afraid that this intelligence may reach Rome too late. I am afraid also that he, being aware of the dissensions and misunderstandings prevailing among the clergy of that Diocese, may absolutely refuse the burden, which indeed could be rendered bearable to him only if, among the *American* priests residing in the Roman College, for a certain number of years, two or three be given him to share his solicitude. This is the only means capable of restoring there subordination and Ecclesiastical unity.

On this subject, and others regarding the welfare of the Church in America, when I am there I will give I do not say *my* opinion, but the opinion of those who know the situation, all the more freely that I cannot be now open to the suspicion of being moved by any interest, as I am more than ever resolved to resign, and I trust I can easily demonstrate that not only the peace of my soul, but above all the interest of religion, demand that my resignation so often tendered, be at last accepted. This persuasion is shared by all those of my friends whom prudence permitted me to consult, who all agreed that I should withdraw as soon as possible, and thought any delay to be detrimental.

If so far no action has been taken on the subject of the appointment of the Rev. Michael Portier to the Vicariate Apostolic of Florida and Alabama,⁸ the Brief for which he sent back to Rome in a moment of happy inspiration, hoping, however (as I am perfectly sure), that he may be forced to accept, I deem it my duty to declare to Your Grace that this election has excited such a wonderment throughout America, that all who know of it expressed to me their undisguised dissatisfaction, as they thought that I was mainly responsible for it, and would hardly believe me when I assured them everything had been done without consulting me.

Nothing will detain me from pursuing now my Romeward journey, except the care of my health, which, after such a long trip by land and sea, demands at least a few days of rest and refreshing; I earnestly long to fly to the feet of His Holiness, and to pay to Your Grace by word of mouth the tribute of my consideration and respect which I reverently now offer in writing.

Your Grace's

Most humble and obedient Servant,

✠ LOUIS WM., Bp. of New Orl.

Havre, July 3, 1826.

To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano, Archbishop of Iconium,
Secretary of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, Rome.

⁸ Action had been taken in Rome on the subject some time since; and whilst Bishop Du Bourg was on the ocean, a new brief had arrived in New Orleans, commanding him *in virtute s, obedientiae* to accept the episcopal office and the charge of the Vicariate Apostolic of Alabama. He communicated this document, on June 19 to Bishop Rosati, then in New Orleans.

XLVII.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

*Secretary of Propaganda.*¹

Ill.me ac Rme Domine,

A Rev.do Franc.o Niel, Roma nuper Parisios reduce, cum summa laetitia accepi SSmi D.i Nostri gratia dirupta tandem esse vincula, quae me Neo-Aurelianensi Ecclesiae mancipabant, mihique jam liberum esse propriae sanctificationi unice vacare. Burdigalam ad hunc finem, festinus me recipio, ubi paratum me semper inveniet Amp.do V.a ad omnia grati animi et reverentiae obsequia. Imo etsi valetudine fractus, et quietis potissimum indigeo, Romanam peregrinationem laetus suscipiam, si Amp.ni V.ae videatur Americanae Ecclesiae proficuum ibi fore operam meam. Multa certe sunt de quibus oretenus Amp.m V.m alloqui proposueram, quae vix litteris possint explicari, quibus forsán plurimum juvari posset Religionis in illa regione conditio, et promoveri prosperitas. Etsi etenim lugenda necessitate coactus, ab illa me separari postulaverim, nunquam tamen desinam illius utilitatis, pro posse, adlaborare.

Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, pro liberationis meae beneficia, impensissimas grates, per Amplitudinem Vestram relatas velim, Meque sibi omni devotionis et venerationis secum devinctum dignetur agnoscere

Hum.um et obs.mum famul.

✠ LUD. GUIL. *alias* Ep. Neo-Aurel.

Rhotomagi, Julii 11.a 1826.

Em.o ac Rev.mo Domino Petro Caprano

Arch.o Icon.si S. C. de prop. Fide a Secretis,
Romam.

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Archbishop:—

The Rev. Francis Niel who came back recently to Paris from Rome, communicated to me the most welcome news² that His Holiness has at length in his kindness severed the bonds which united me with the Church of New Orleans, and that I may now attend only to my own sanctification. For this purpose I hasten to go to Bordeaux, where Your Grace will always find me ready to offer you the marks of my gratitude and respect. Nay even, though I am somewhat broken

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale*, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.

² A letter of Father F. Niel to Msgr. Soglia, in Rome, dated Paris, July 18, and contained in the same volume of the *Scritture Referite* says in part: "You undoubtedly have heard of Bishop Du Bourg's arrival in France. As soon as I heard he had reached this country, I wrote to him to announce to him that the Pope had accepted his resignation; he has answered my letter and seems to be satisfied."

in health and need rest above everything else, I will undertake the journey to Rome, if Your Grace should think my presence there may be of use for the interest of the Church in America. There are indeed many things which I had proposed to mention to Your Grace in conversation, and could hardly be explained by letter, and whereby the condition of Religion in that country might be greatly helped and its prosperity promoted. For although a sad necessity compelled me to ask to be separated from it, still I shall never cease to work in its behalf to the limit of my ability.

Please return in my name most earnest thanks to the Holy Father for the benefit of my freedom, and deign consider me linked to Your Grace by every sentiment of devotedness and veneration

Your most humble and obedient servant

✠ LOUIS WM., formerly Bp. of New OrL.

Rouen, July 11, 1826.

To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano, Archbishop of Iconium,
Secretary of the S. Congr. of Propaganda.

XLVIII

TO THE NUNTIO

to Paris.¹

Eminence,

Mr. l'abbé Hercule Brassac eut la générosité et le dévouement en 1817 de quitter sa respectable famille en France, pour me suivre aux missions de la Louisiane. Il y reçut de moi les SS. Ordres *sub titulo Missionis*. Son vénérable Père ayant successivement perdu son Epouse et 10 de ses Enfants, m'écrivit il y a un an pour me prier de lui accorder la consolation d'embrasser encore une fois l'unique fils qui lui restoit. Il étoit difficile de refuser une pareille faveur à un Père plus que septuagénaire, si cruellement éprouvé dans ses plus tendres affections. L'abbé Brassac est aujourd'hui en France en congé disposé à repartir pour la Louisiane si telle est la volonté de Dieu, manifestée par ses Supérieurs. Je ne le suis plus, Eminence—sans cela Je ne tiendrais pas aux prières du vénérable viellard, qui me redemande l'unique appui de ses dernières années. Je m'adresse avec confiance à V. Em. pour le prier de vouloir bien s'intéresser à cette affaire suprès de S. Em. le Cardl. Préfet de la Propagande de qui elle dépend principalement.

Je suis avec un profond respect

De Ve. Eminence

Paris le 15 Novre, 1826.

Le très humble et très ob. serviteur

✠ L. GUIL, Ev. de Montauban

S. Emce. Le Cardinal Nonce

Apostolique à la Cour de France.

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.*

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:

The Rev. Hercules Brassac² had, in 1817, the generosity and devotedness to leave his respectable family in France, in order to follow me to the Louisiana missions. There I conferred upon him the Sacred Orders *sub titulo Missionis*. As his venerable Father lost successively his wife and ten of his children, he wrote to me a year ago to request me to grant him the consolation of embracing once more the only son left him. I could not deny such a favor to a father more than three score and ten years of age, cruelly tried in his most tender affections. Father Brassac is now in France on a leave of absence, ready to go back to Louisiana if such is the will of God, manifested by his Superiors. Had I still jurisdiction over him, Your Eminence, I could not resist the prayers of the venerable old man, who is beseeching that the only prop of his declining years be left to him. Hence I beg confidently Your Eminence to interpose in his behalf with His Eminence the Prefect of Propaganda, whom this affair principally depends.

I am with the deepest respect

Your Eminence's

Most humble and obedient servant

✠ L. WM., Bp. of Montauban.

Paris, November 15, 1826.

To His Eminence the Cardinal Nuntio
to the Court of France.

XLIX

TO THE CARD. PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.¹

Eminence,

Mgr. Rosati, mon successeur à la Louisiane, rendant justice à mes sentiments pour une Eglise qui fut et sera toujours le premier objet de ma sollicitude, et supposant que mon opinion touchant ses intérêts peut être de quelque poids dans le jugement de la S. Congrégation de la Propagande, me presse d'écrire à V. Emce., pour appuyer de mon suffrage les demandes qu'il vient tout récemment de lui adresser. Je désire sincèrement que ce digne Prélat ne se soit pas plus qu'il en soit trompé dans l'une que dans l'autre de ses deux suppositions. Quoi qu'il en soit je mettrai toujours le plus vif empressement à secondér ses vues; heureux si Je puis encore fournir au moins quelques lumières qui tournent à l'avantage de cette intéressante Mission.

² On the Rev. Hercules Brassac, see Archbishop S. G. Messmer's article *The Reverend Hercules Brassac*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 392-416; and *Brassac's Correspondence with the American Bishops*, (1818-1861), pp. 448-470, in the same issue of the above-mentioned periodical.

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scrittura Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 9, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1827 a tto il 1828*.

Je vois avec douleur, Eminence, que l'extrême modestie de Mgr. Rosati lui inspire une aversion insurmountable pour le Siège de la Nouvelle Orléans. Il est persuadé qu'il faut à ce poste des talens plus distingués que les siens. Je ne suis pas de son avis, et j'ai la conviction que nul autre Evêque n'y ferait plus de bien que lui. Ce n'est pas tant l'éloquence, qu'une science solide, une profonde sagesse et une vertu à l'abri de toute atteinte, que demande cette importante situation. La première de ces qualités ne ferait peut-être que lui attirer des Censeurs; les autres lui ont déjà conquis l'affection et le respect universels.

Je sens non moins tout ce qui est dû de déférence à une réputation aussi caractérisée, dans un Prélat aussi vertueux. Son tempérament d'ailleurs de paraît pas fait pour les ardeurs qui dévorent ce climat pendant la moitié de l'année, et sa conservation est trop précieuse à la Religion pour qu'on doive l'exposer à un si grand danger.

Il n'y a selon moi qu'un moyen de concilier tous les intérêts, c'est de laisser à Mgr. Rosati pour un temps indéterminé l'administration des deux divisions de ce grand Diocèse, et de lui donner un Coadjuteur pour l'assister ou le suppléer dans la basse Louisiane. Toutes mes lettres précédentes à la S. Congregation ont exprimé ce vœu, et je me réjouis que lui-même il le partage. C'est qu'en effet, malgré sa modesti, il lui étoit difficile de se dissimuler que nul autre que lui ne pourra de longtemps réunir les coeurs et fixer la soumission d'un clergé hétérogène toujours prêt à se diviser ou à s'émanciper; et la qualité de Supérieur de la Congrégation de la Mission lui donne pour cela des avantages qui ne peuvent appartenir qu'à lui.

Il propose pour Coadjuteur Mr. Léon de Neckeré, prêtre de sa Congrégation, flamand d'origine, qui a déjà passé près de dix ans dans la Louisiane, homme rare pour les connoissances, les vertus, et surtout pour le don d'une éloquence distinguée, soit en anglais, soit en français. Deux choses cependant pourroient militer contre lui, sa jeunesse et sa santé. Il a tout au plus atteint sa 28e. année—mais son physique, sa gravité et sa sagesse sont de 40 ans. — Sa santé fatiguée par l'application et le travail sédentaire a surtout beaucoup souffert, du climat froid et sec de la haute Louisiane; mais elle se trouve bien de la chaleur humide de la Nouvelle Orléans: il est à cet égard précisément l'éavers de Mgr. Rosati. Ainsi, puisque surtout il n'est question que de lui conférer une autorité dépendante, il paroîtroit que ce choix serait désirable. Plusieurs raisons accessoires pourraient en confirmer la sagesse. — Mr. de Neckeré est universellement respecté de ses Confrères et du peuple — et comme Flamand, il est probable qu'il attirerait bientôt à la Mission un certain nombre de ses compatriotes, qui de toutes les nations sont ceux qui en général y réussissent le mieux.

Je crains seulement qu'on ne puisse, par les seuls moyens de persuasion, le déterminer à accepter le pesant fardeau de l'Episcopat, doublement pesant dans un pays tel que la Louisiane. Il ne faudra probablement rien moins pour l'y résoudre qu'un ordre péremptoire de Sa Sainteté.

Si la Sac. Congrégation adopte ces vues, Elle peut m'adresser ses dépêches, que je me ferai un honneur de transmettre, d'une manière sûre, soit à Mgr. Rosati à la Louisiane, soit à Mr. de Neckeré, qui est aujourd'hui en congé dans sa famille en Belgique.

Je suis avec un profond respect,

De Votre Eminence,

Montauban 1er Mai, 1827.

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

✠ L. GUIL. DU BOURG Evêque de Montauban.

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence,

Bishop Rosati, my successor in Louisiana, doing justice to my sentiments towards a Church which was and shall ever be the first object of my solicitude, and supposing that my opinion touching its interests may have some weight upon the decisions of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, begs me insistently to write to Your Eminence to support the petition which he directed recently to the same Congregation.² I sincerely desire that this worthy Prelate may not be mistaken in either supposition. However this may be, I will always manifest the greatest eagerness when it is a question of fostering his views, happy if thereby I am still able to shed at least some light which may turn to the advantage of that interesting Mission!

I regret to see, Your Eminence, that the extreme modesty of Bishop Rosati inspires him with an unsurmountable aversion for the See of New Orleans. He is convinced that the position requires talents more distinguished than his. I do not share his opinion, and am convinced that no other Bishop may do there more good than he. It is not so much eloquence, as solid knowledge, profound wisdom, and a virtue above every suspicion, which are demanded in that important office. The first of these qualities would perhaps only invite censure; the others have already won for him the affection and respect of all.

I realize none the less whatever deference is due to so marked a repugnance in a Prelate of such sterling virtue. His constitution, moreover, does not seem suited for the scorching heat prevailing in that climate during half of the year; and his preservation is too precious to Religion to permit to expose him to so great a danger.

There is only, that I can see, one means to reconcile all the interests at stake, namely to leave to Bp. Rosati for an unlimited length of time the administration of both parts of that great Diocese, and to give him a Coadjutor to assist him or supply his place in Lower

² The allusion is, as the rest of the letter shows, to the reluctance of Bishop Rosati for accepting the See of New Orleans. The story is told at length in an Article of Rev C. L. Souvay, C. M., entitled, *Rosati's Elevation to the See of St. Louis* (1827), published in Vol. III, No. 2 (July, 1917) of *The Catholic Historical Review*, pp. 165-186.

Louisiana. All my previous letters to the S. Congregation expressed this wish, and I am glad that he himself is saying the same. For indeed, with all his modesty, he could scarcely be blind to the fact that no other man will be able for a long time to unite the hearts and assure the submission of a clergy made up of all kinds of men, ever ready to be divided or to take liberties; and his office of Superior of the Congregation of the Mission gives him advantages which no other can have.

He proposes as Coadjutor, Father Leo De Neckere, a priest of his Congregation, native of Flanders, who has already spent well-nigh ten years in Louisiana, and is exceptionally remarkable by his knowledge, his virtues, and, above all, the gift of a most distinguished eloquence both in English and in French. Two objections, however, might be raised against him. his youth and his health. He is scarcely twenty-six years of age,³ but his outward appearance, his gravity and his wisdom are of a man of forty. His health undermined by application and sedentary work suffered very much from the cold and dry climate of Upper Louisiana; but it benefits by the damp heat of New Orleans; from this point of view, he is just the reverse of Bp. Rosati. So, as there is, after all, question of conferring upon him only a dependent authority, this choice seems well-advised. Several secondary reasons might confirm the wisdom of it. Father De Neckere is universally respected by his brother-priests and the people, and as he is Flemish, it might probably attract soon to the Mission a certain number of his fellow-countrymen, who, of all nationalities, are those who are succeeding best.

I am afraid only that persuasive means may not be able to determine him to accept the weighty burden of the Episcopate, which is doubly heavy in a country like Louisiana. Probably nothing short of a peremptory command of His Holiness will be able to prevail upon him.

Should the S. Congregation adopt these views, it may direct to me its despatches, which I will consider an honor to forward by sure means, either to Bp. Rosati in Louisiana, or to Father De Neckere, who is now on a leave with his family in Belgium.

I am with the deepest respect,

Your Eminence's most humble and obedient servant,

✠ L. WM. DU BOURG, Bishop of Montauban.

Montauban, May 1, 1827.

³ Father Leo De Neckere was born at Wevelghem, then in the Diocese of Ghent, Belgium, on June 5, 1800. He was, therefore, almost twenty-seven years of age at the time of the writing of this letter. Bishop Du Bourg's error, however, is slight and immaterial: Father De Neckere had not reached the *Episcopal age*.

L.

TO CARD. CAPPELLARI

*Prefect of Propaganda*¹

Eme ac Rev. me Domine,

Literis datis 29 a Augui. proxime elapsi, petit a me Ema. Vestra quid sentiam de postulatione R. P. D. Josephi Rosati mei in Louisiana successoris, circa reductionem festorum et jejuniorum cujos postulationis transcriptum in adjuncto folio habetur.

Respondeo, nihil a me de eo stitutum in Synodo Dioecesana a me coacta, ut putat Rev. Episcopus, sed solummodo in ea publicatum Oraculum SS. mi D. 1. Nostri Pii Papae VII propria manu firmatum (quod in archiviis Episcopatus Neo Aurelianensis, sub discessionem meam, reliqui), quo Summus Pontifex annuit 1° ut consuetudini jam invecetae in Baltimorem Metropolim circa reductionem festorum et vigiliarum, in mea Diocesi ahaereretur. 2° ut nihil immutaretur in alia consuetudine quae in Louisiana ab Hispanis inducta fuerat, diebus sabbati per annum carnibus vesct.

In dicta autem synodo, investigatum fuit qui essent dies sive festorum sive jejuniorum, vel antiquitus in Louisiana, vel nova concessione in Baltimorem servati, collatisque testimoniis redactus est eorum catalogue ad numerum in epistola R. P. D. Rosati expressum.

Quod ad opportunitatem proragandae et confirmandae in posterum dictae indulgentiae attinet, Haec mihi comprobata videtur ex optimis rationibus a successore meo adductis.

Errat tamen de facto ubi dicit me a Summo Pontifice confirmationem hujusmodi consuetudinum petiisse quam nescit utrum acceperim, qua loquendi forma satis prodit, se vel ignorare penitus, vel oblitum fuisse, quomodo dictam confirmationem obtinueram, nempe sub discessionem meam a Roma, mense Januario 1816, Summum Pontificem adii cum libello precum, inter quas praedicta postulatio adnumerabatur, cui *pro gratis, ad iudicium Episcopi* subscripsit Sanctissimus. Autographum autem hujus libelli, Novas Aureliae, ut dixi, mox inde profecturus, in Archivio Episcopali reliqui. Nil mirum proinde si nihil de ea petitione in S. Congregationis tabula inveniri potuerit.

Summa cum Reverentia, plenaque in hanc Sacram Congregationem devotione, haberi volo

Eminentiae Vestrae

Montis Albani, die 7 bris 18 a 1829.

Humill. et obsequentise. famulus,

✝ LUD. GUIL. Epus Mtis Alb.

Emo et Revmo D. Cardli. Cappellari
S. Congr. p. F. Praefecto.

¹ Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 10, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal 1829 a tto il 1832.*

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:

In your letter dater August 29, Your Eminence asks my opinion on the petition of the Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, my successor in Louisiana, concerning a reduction of the feasts and fasts, and a copy of said petition was enclosed in the letter.

My answer is that, in the Diocesan Synod which I called, I regulated nothing contrary to the impression of the Right Rev. Bishop; all that was done was to publish in that Synod the pronouncement signed by our Holy Father Pius VII's own hand (which, at my departure, I left in the Episcopal Archives of New Orleans), whereby the Sovereign Pontiff granted: 1° that we should follow in my Diocese the custom already introduced in that of Baltimore in regard to the reduction of the feasts and vigils; 2° that nothing should be changed in another custom introduced into Louisiana by the Spaniards, to eat meat on Saturdays during the year.

In the same Synod investigations were made concerning the feast or fast days observed both from old times in Louisiana or by virtue of the concession made to Baltimore, and after comparing the testimonies, a catalogue of these days was made including the number mentioned in the letter of Bp. Rosti.

With regard to the opportunity of continuing and confirming for the future this grant, I would recommend it on the reasons adduced by my successor.

He is mistaken, however, when he says that I asked from the Sovereign Pontiff the confirmation of this custom, but does not know whether I obtained it. This expression of his indicates clearly that he is totally ignorant, or forgetful of the way I had obtained that confirmation, namely when, on leaving Rome, in January, 1816, I went to the Sovereign Pontiff with a list of petitions, among which was the one in question; at the bottom of this document the Holy Father wrote: *pro gratia, ad judicium Episcopi*. The original of this list of petitions I left in New Orleans, as I said, in the Episcopal Archives, at the time of my departure. No wonder, therefore, that nothing about it should be found in the Records of the S. Congregation.

With the utmost respect, and complete devotedness to the S. Congregation, I beg you to believe me,

Your Eminences' most humble and obedient servant,

✠ LOUIS WM., Bp. of Montauban.

Montauban, September 18, 1829.

To His Eminence Card. Cappellari,

Prefect of the S. Congregation of Propaganda.

